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JUNE 22

That day stands out as an unforgettable milestone in the life of our country and, indeed, of all mankind.

June 22, 1986, is the 45th anniversary of the nazi invasion of the world's first socialist state and the beginning of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people. The aggressor's crimes were so enormous, the wounds he inflicted so deep, that the lapse of time since then seems brief. The generation that countered the onslaught and fought in the face of incredible odds, draining the bitter cup of suffering to the dregs, is still with us. But if the war generation has stored the past in its personal memory, the memory of the nation capsules the experience of many generations and the finest traditions of our history.

It was for us a year of pain and pride. The pain of losses — and miscalculations. The pride of those who did not falter. For had not our people stood their ground, no one in the world could have done so. Of the tragic events of 1941 was born the joyous day of Victory, May 9, 1945.

The lessons of 1941 are many. One of them is that the perfidy of the forces of social revanche must never be forgotten. A revolution must be able to defend itself, and hence must always be on its guard. In the Germany and the entire Western Europe of that time there were most likely those who saw in the invasion of the Soviet Union a futile gamble. But it was not they who gained the upper hand. Will the sober minds prevail who today warn the nuclear hotheads that nuclear war too cannot be won? We have every right to ask this question.

But we would not be worthy successors to the heroes of 1941 if we confined ourselves to asking questions. The sum total of the activity of the CPSU is directed at safeguarding the peaceful labour of our homeland, ensuring the defence capability of our country, and the creation of a climate of peace and security on the planet. The Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Treaty states reaffirmed the readiness of the socialist community to resolve the epochal task of ending the arms race, going over to real disarmament, and removing the threat of war.

The forty-five years that have passed since June 1941 have left their mark. The political map of the world is not what it was then, and neither is the thinking of most people in the world. They are far more keenly aware of the threat hanging over humanity. This new view of the world, this new thinking is bound to yield fruit. Our cause — the cause of peace — is a just cause. Victory will be ours.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

I was an ordinary soldier during the war. For me, as for all those who went through the Great Patriotic War, it is the memory of the first few days that stands out most vividly — those days when the fascist scum rode roughshod over our land and its fuehrers boastfully proclaimed their intention to put an end once and for all to world communism. The victory of 1945 cancelled out these claims. President Reagan has also made some loud public statements about seeing world communism on the rubbish heap of history. And he is doing his best to plunge the world into a nuclear abyss. Every ordinary American should know that our people will be able to stand up for themselves. No one will escape retribution. It would be well to give thought to this before it is too late.

A. FEYRALOV
Brest, U.S.S.R.

Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals open a direct way for mankind to rid itself of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Unfortunately, the American policy makers are not giving serious consideration to the Soviet initiatives. They have now decided to renege on their commitments under the SALT-2 treaty. Do they realize the danger of the path they have chosen!

Ernesto RODRIGUEZ
Camaguary, Cuba

As an old Communist and friend of your country I want to say this — the successes of the socialist states are a great joy for us. They inspire the hope that in my country too life could change for the better.

Arnaldo PARRABI
Turin, Italy

From the editors. New Times has received a money order from Arnaldo Parrabi for 100,000 lire for the victims of the Chernobyl accident.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

HOBOE
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NEW WARSAW TREATY INITIATIVE

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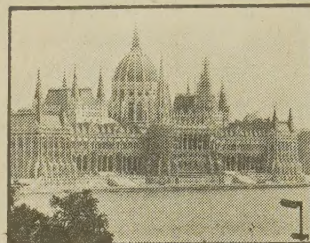
Liechtenstein surprises

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Cover by A. Garanin

PEACE FOR EUROPE PEACE FOR THE PLANET

The plenary meeting of the
CPSU Central Committee, held
on June 16, gave a high ap-
praisal of the results of the
Budapest conference of the
Warsaw Treaty Political Con-



sultative Committee, which put
forward a programme of large-
scale reductions of armed
forces and conventional arma-
ments in Europe, from the
Atlantic to the Urals.

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HOW THE WAR BEGAN

Forty-five years ago, on
June 22, 1941, Germany at-
tacked the Soviet Union, and
the Great Patriotic War began.
In this issue we recapitulate
events of that time on two
planes, so to say. A defender
of the Brest Fortress describes
the Soviet fightingmen's initial
encounter with the fascist in-
vader. Photos taken by war

correspondent Anatoly Gara-
nin tell the story of those
first days of the war. And the
documentary "The Codeword
was 'Dortmund'" throws light
on the monstrous plans of
German imperialism which
came to grief in the Soviet
Union.

pp. 14-21



FRICION IN NATO

The U.S. bombing of Libya
caused serious differences be-
tween the United States and
its NATO allies. Western
Europe condemned the reck-
less use of armed force. Polit-
ical contradictions within the
North Atlantic bloc have been
further sharpened by Wash-
ington's decision to renounce
the SALT-2 treaty. Many
Americans, too, are beginning
to realize the fallacy of the
foreign policy course steered
by the White House. Disaffec-
tion in the Atlanticist camp
is examined in this issue by
the well-known writer on
world affairs Yuri Zhukov.

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THE BUDAPEST PROGRAMME

A CONFERENCE OF THE WARSAW TREATY POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE WAS HELD IN THE HUNGARIAN CAPITAL ON JUNE 10-11. ITS RESULTS EVOKED GREAT INTEREST THE WORLD OVER, BUT SPECIAL ATTENTION WAS PAID TO AN IMPORTANT NEW INITIATIVE ON THE PART OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES—THE PROGRAMME FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS IN EUROPE. OUR STORY ABOUT THIS EXTREMELY SIGNIFICANT EVENT BEGINS WITH A REPORT FROM NEW TIMES SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN BUDAPEST.

This is already history or, as the current phrase goes, contemporary history. At first glance, there is a contradiction here: after all, history means the past, not our own time. In our fast-moving epoch, however, history is being made right before our eyes. This was especially evident in Budapest during the conference of the supreme body of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the Political Consultative Committee (PCC).

Every international forum has a style and rhythm of work all its own, and the PCC is no exception. The committee's sessions are held behind closed doors, and the exchanges of opinion that take place there are not made public. It is traditional for the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty countries' joint armed forces to make a report at the PCC conference. The conference closes with the signing of documents adopted on the principle of consensus generally accepted in Europe.

In Budapest, the hosts to the conference took all this into account and opened an excellently equipped inter-

national press centre in the Hilton Hotel which became, as it were, "a world in miniature." Journalists from all over the world (seated next to me at the press conference was a colleague from Australia, for instance) covered the PCC conference which almost coincided with Mikhail Gorbachev's friendly visit to Hungary, with the result that world press interest was doubled.

At the press centre, the newsmen had the cooperation of two groups of experts — Hungarian and Soviet. The groups comprised leading authorities on international, military and economic matters. So the journalists arriving in Budapest needed no "grapevines" — all the information they needed was immediately accessible.

The newsmen were kept up to date with world developments by teletyped reports from Reuter, France-Presse, TASS and MTI displayed on notice boards. We could read Hungarian papers and watch Hungarian TV programmes, of course, but most of us knew little or no Hungarian, a language which is not widely spoken. This gap in our education was filled by daily bulletins in English and German put out by the MTI agency.

It goes without saying that the mem-

bers of the press corps who arrived in the Hungarian capital took different views of the conference. But all of them evinced what I would describe as eager interest. What would the supreme body of the Warsaw Treaty Organization say? How would it respond to the recent moves by the U.S. Administration? What new proposals would be made? The most diverse opinions were voiced on that score.

Mikhail Gorbachev made life much easier for all the newsmen. He told the Csepel workers on June 9 that the PCC would discuss in detail the programme for a substantial arms cut in Europe — specifically over an area stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. On June 10 the papers carried Janos Kadar's speech at a formal reception in the famous Hungarian parliament building.

"We are making constructive new proposals," he said. "Our conference is paying special attention to the proposals aimed at promoting security and cooperation in Europe."

The sessions came to a close on the following day when the heads of seven delegations affixed their signatures to the final documents. In the evening of the same day Miklos Barit, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic and PCC general secretary in the period between the Sofia and Budapest PCC conferences, revealed, in a packed press centre, the content of the documents the conference had adopted.

The first of these documents is the communiqué assessing the international situation and the causes of current world tensions, and outlining the basic avenues of the policy pursued by the Warsaw Treaty countries in the effort to end nuclear testing and eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons. The second

Photo: the Soviet delegation at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

TASS photo

document is an appeal to the NATO member states and all European countries, containing a programme for reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The new programme, intended for the geographical zone stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals, provides for:

- a substantial reduction of all components of ground troops and tactical strike air forces, as well as of the tactical nuclear weapons;

- a mutual reduction of confronting troops by 100,000-150,000 men on each side within one to two years, as a first step;

- further reductions as a result of which each side's ground troops and tactical strike air force would be cut by approximately 25 per cent in the early nineties;

- using a reliable and effective control system involving national facilities and international procedures including on-the-spot inspection.

"We hope," Janos Barabas, head of the Hungarian group of experts, said, "that the resolutions adopted by the conference will usher in a new stage in the process of easing international tension."

The socialist concept of international relations rejects the inevitability of tension buildup. Europe knows well that détente is a realistic proposition. In Budapest, where the all-European process was started in 1969, there was ample evidence of the need for, and usefulness of, initiative.

During the conference our Hungarian colleagues wrote about another aspect of the Warsaw Treaty concept—its comprehensiveness. The Soviet proposals, made on January 15, 1986, had to do with the crucial problem of today—the prevention of a nuclear holocaust. But it is not a matter of indifference to mankind that certain conventional weapons have become as deadly as nuclear ones.

Incidentally, the conventional and "unconventional" weapons issue has a specific feature stemming from the cynicism of Western propaganda. When it comes to discussing conventional weapon cuts, we are told: now wait a minute, aren't nuclear weapons more dangerous? And when we propose to reduce or even eliminate nuclear weapons, the casuists object that the East would keep its imagined superiority in conventional weapons as a result. A vicious circle? The proposals made in

Budapest smashed this Atlanticist false logic. The Warsaw Treaty states tell the West: Let us deal with the problem as an integral one. Let us reduce both nuclear and conventional arms.

"We think that this will trigger off a chain reaction of sorts," Gyula Horn, a prominent Hungarian diplomat, told me.

Budapest was not wanting in food for thought. And this is exactly what the world needs today: a changeover to

new political thinking, discarding old patterns and old concepts. An American newsman, who asked in feigned surprise at a press conference why the Soviets had previously approached the problem of verification from a somewhat different angle, was told that this was new thinking in action.

New thinking in action — this is the underlying significance of the Budapest resolutions.

AFTER THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE'S BUDAPEST MEETING WE PUT SEVERAL QUESTIONS TO G.D.R. FOREIGN MINISTER OSKAR FISCHER, AN SUPG CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER, WHO WAS WITH THE G.D.R. DELEGATION IN BUDAPEST. HIS REPLIES FOLLOW.

How did the Political Consultative Committee's Budapest meeting assess the international situation?

The meeting took place at a time when tension persists in the world and the international situation is extremely complex and contradictory. The arch-reactionary forces of imperialism are pulling out all stops to accelerate the arms race and thus obstruct the amelioration of the international situation which is so vitally needed. Since the Geneva summit between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan these forces have been attempting to offset chances of a turn for the better. A particularly dangerous move in that direction was Washington's declared intention not to abide by the SALT-2 provisions.

Meanwhile people the world over are looking to the constructive peace bids of the socialist states, especially the Soviet Union's universally acknowledged proposals to destroy all nuclear armaments by the year 2000 and build up a comprehensive system of international security. The repeated statements by the leaders of the six nations, the positive response from many African, Asian and Latin American states as well as the stance of realistic politicians and forces even within NATO countries show that the forces of sanity and realism are growing.

There is increasing understanding of the fact that the growing interdependence of nations and states and in particular the realities of this nuclear age and the scientific and technological revolution have given new urgency to the issue of the future of mankind. When we realize that safety is to be ensured not against one another, but with one another, there is a growing preparedness to act. It is plain to all that nuclear war must never come to pass. To tackle the basic issues before humanity, we need a new approach that takes into account the realities of the 20th century which is now coming to a close. These

problems cannot be resolved by any means other than political.

What issues did the committee focus on?

It goes without saying that the central problems of today were discussed. Firstly, how to deliver humanity from the perils of an atomic hell and guarantee security to all nations. A feature of the meeting was that all allied socialist states tried to draw the necessary conclusions from the prevailing international situation and, by submitting new proposals, proceed with the effort to ensure peace, secure disarmament, and ameliorate the international situation.

The answers Budapest furnished to these issues derive from the very nature of socialism. Unlike the recent conferences held by the executive NATO bodies, the Warsaw Treaty's supreme political body did not discuss new arms programmes but put before all states and peoples of Europe innovative far-reaching proposals aimed at reducing tensions. The Political Consultative Committee's appeal to the NATO states and all European countries sets out a programme to slash armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and indicates practical ways and means for restraining the spiralling arms race and ensuring détente.

Next, the conference discussed the further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the allied socialist states and ways of promoting their comprehensive cooperation. All the fraternal countries, as their party congresses have shown, have planned extensive programmes for the foreseeable future. In the process of realizing them socialism's advantages in meeting the requirements of scientific and technological progress will become increasingly plain. Growing significance attaches to the effort to make full use of these factors within the context of socialist economic integration. The conference graphically demonstrated the firm resolve of the fraternal countries expeditiously to imple-

ment cardinal agreements on scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2000.

What significance attaches to the new proposals put forward in Budapest?

The new proposals tabled by the Warsaw Treaty states are a concrete, sweeping yet flexible programme for negotiation. This new bid, along with Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals to abolish nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction, shows that the socialist states have presented a comprehensive programme and are prepared to negotiate the reduction of all types of armament proceeding from parity and equal security. At the same time these moves must be subject to effective control. By calling for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and showing that they are prepared to discuss the proposals presented whether in entirety or piecemeal and conclude both general and particular agreements, the socialist countries have pointed out to the world how the danger of nuclear disaster may be averted and a stable and lasting peace ensured.

How do you assess chances of starting discussions or talks on the new proposals?

The initial response from the capitals of the West European NATO countries and from the neutral and non-aligned states indicates, firstly, that there is keen interest in the concrete content of the new proposals, especially when one realizes that they have incorporated many Western suggestions and that the most flexible forms of discussion are being offered. Secondly, circles that hitherto rejected every Warsaw Treaty initiative on the pretext of their being "propaganda" will find themselves in a quandary. Take the control of arms reduction which was always, as will be remembered, a pretext for these quarters to avoid the issue of genuine disarmament. Now the socialist states are offering measures of verification incorporating both national means and on-the-site inspection, and have also proposed setting up an international advisory commission.

The Warsaw Treaty states have framed their programme to enable talks to be started now, without further delay. As you know, they have suggested discussing these problems either within the framework of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, at negotiations in Vienna, or at any other forum. This issue could be agreed at the meeting to be held in Vienna of the member countries of the all-European Conference. Hence we are open to every conceivable proposal. What is needed now is the response of the NATO countries, their constructive initiatives. All

other European countries have a similar obligation. After all, Europe must be a continent of peace, as only then will it have a future, as only then can there be fruitful cooperation. The question at issue is whether or not political resolve, sane thinking and realism will prevail and the new opportunities for a radical amelioration of the situation in Europe and throughout the world will not be missed again.

What part do regional initiatives play in the socialist policy of peace? And what experience has the G.D.R. accumulated in this area?

Regional decisions germane to definite types of weapons are logically part of the concept of the socialist states. At times they are not as complex as global decisions and can contribute to these. It stands to reason that in its foreign policy the G.D.R. attaches the utmost significance to Central Europe where there is a greater concentration of armed forces and the means of mass destruction than anywhere else. This has been illustrated by the joint G.D.R.-Czechoslovak initiative addressed firstly to the F.R.G. and then to the Benelux countries, Denmark, Norway as well as to Poland and Hungary. It suggests initiating direct negotiations for a zone rid of chemical weaponry.

Currently the picture is as follows. Hungary and Poland are prepared to negotiate, and the Soviet Union is prepared to provide the relevant guarantees. Many realistically-minded forces in Western Europe, including the Socialist and Social Democratic parties, have backed this initiative. At the same time, our initiative is contributing to the effort to have the demand for an immediate ban on chemical weapons — and here I wish to mention only the NATO decision on binary weapons — not remain a scrap of paper. More and more men and women throughout the world are not only aware of the danger to peace, but are prepared to raise their voices against the threat of war.

From what does the Political Consultative Committee derive its optimism as to the possibility of improving the international situation?

WHAT IS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE TO THE NEW WARSAW TREATY INITIATIVE? FROM BRUSSELS VYACHESLAV BOIKOV REPORTS HOW NATO HAS TAKEN IT.

"Formerly the allies [in NATO—V.B.] dismissed all Soviet proposals as propaganda stunts," the Belgian newspaper *Libre Belgique* commented. "Now, their first reaction suggests serious interest."

Indeed, Western politicians have not rejected the new major initiative of the

In their striving for détente, the socialist states, like all other people, are loth to perish in a nuclear hell and desirous of living in peace and safety. As Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG and Chairman of the G.D.R. Council of State, emphasized at the luncheon in Budapest, "the Soviet programme for the abolition of nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons and the joint initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty states enjoy the broadest support from the international community. After all, they hold out the prospect of a world free from all nuclear armaments." Our optimism derives primarily from the conviction that humanity's common sense and will to live will, in the final count, override the irresponsibility of forces reluctant to reckon with the realities of the world today, and craving to reach their objectives by obsolete means. That this is so is illustrated by the fact that the new constructive approach which the socialist community has taken in the effort to resolve the central issues of today, the proposals that we have put forward, are already exerting an increasingly powerful impact on the mentality and behaviour of the peace-loving millions throughout the world. They also influence the behaviour of the ruling circles in the NATO countries.

In the second place, and this is the decisive point, our optimism derives from the increasing strength of the positions of socialism which also adds to the effectiveness of the socialist community's peaceful policy. They enable socialism to maintain its defence potential at adequate levels and demonstrate to imperialism the futility of any effort to decide the historical contest between capitalism and socialism by means of war. The decisions taken by the CPSU at its 27th Congress, by the SUPG at its 11th Congress, and by the other fraternal parties at their congresses are a clear indication that our peoples will continue to show creative initiative in their peaceful endeavour.

Warsaw Treaty countries, which has been highly appreciated by the peace-loving public, out of hand, as they have done time and again in the past. Yet it is premature thus far to say that the Atlanticists have seen the light. After all, in the final analysis things may not get beyond the stage of tactical

alterations with no impact upon the substance of the Western approach to political dialogue. Sad to say, grounds for such conjectures abound.

At the NATO headquarters in Brussels there was an immediate response to the Budapest appeal. A spokesman for the NATO Secretary-General officially emphasized that same day that NATO also sought to reduce conventional armaments. "The Warsaw Pact proposals will be taken carefully into account," he promised. "It would be wrong to comment on the details before these ideas have been properly studied. But we certainly welcome all constructive contributions towards our objective."

Regrettably, in off-the-record "no-name" conversations with Western newsmen the Atlanticists are piping a different tune. They seek not only to minimize the significance of the new bid from the socialist countries, but also in effect to destroy it piecemeal. This strategy takes several forms. The "no-name" NATOites question the very idea of major cuts in the armed forces. If at the Vienna talks, whose aims are more modest, no compromise has been reached over the past 13 years, then what chance is there of any radical reduction, *Nouvelles Atlantiques*, closely associated with NATO, rhetorically asks. Still greater pessimism is being shown with regard to prospects for dismantling or withdrawing armaments. The English weekly *The Economist* notes: "NATO has always been reluctant to agree to the destruction or shipping home of American equipment." Usually the "geographical" excuse is trotted out; it is claimed that the U.S. is much further from Western Europe than the U.S.S.R. and will find it harder to rush armaments to the scene in the event of a crisis.

The complexities of control are again being artificially inflated, despite repeated assurances by the U.S.S.R. and its allies of preparedness to negotiate the most radical means of verifying the observance of agreements.

Nor do equivalent reductions suit NATO. The Atlanticists allege that the Warsaw Treaty has more troops and conventional armaments, and should therefore cut back more. This theory of "imbalance," which enjoys wide currency in the West stems not from the balance of forces that actually obtains, but from garbled statistics. As the London Institute for Strategic Studies has noted, NATO armed forces, inclusive of Spain and France, even somewhat outnumber the Warsaw Treaty forces. An approximate parity also exists with regard to conventional armaments, provided, of course, that all components are included.

The issue of the sex of angels debated

so heatedly at an Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church' was provoked by clerics who sought to side-step issues they did not want to discuss. The aforementioned arguments offered by the servitors of the Atlanticist

THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS COME FROM PROFESSOR FREDERICK MAYER, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL CENTRE IN VIENNA.

"The proposals the Warsaw Treaty countries advanced in Budapest are important not only for the relations between the two blocs, between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., they are important for all mankind.

"During his visit to Budapest Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that 'mankind can learn to live like human beings,'" Professor Mayer went on. "For this a reappraisal of values is essential, and it must be realized that the strategy of confrontation has to be overcome, that any attempt to gain military superiority over the U.S.S.R. is a dangerous illusion. In our time it is necessary for mankind to deepen international cooperation and not to continue the arms buildup.

"The disarmament proposals put for-

cult of force would appear to have a similar objective: to avoid giving an answer to the very concrete major issue of whether NATO is really prepared to reaffirm its purported interest in a radical conventional arms cut.

ward in Budapest are not an abstraction. They are perfectly realistic. Although it is often contended in the West that it is all propaganda, the fact remains that the U.S.S.R. and its allies are the hope of the entire world community. Their disarmament proposals are identical with the ideas advanced by the non-aligned countries. They can no longer be ignored.

"If the peoples of the world wish to survive, they must share the position of the U.S.S.R. and its allies in the matter of disarmament. And this implies taking an active and equal part in efforts to promote international understanding, in the struggle for disarmament, and in strengthening the role of the United Nations in the world."

THE OPINION OF ITALIAN SENATOR ENZO ENRIQUES AGNOLETTI ON THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN REPORTED TO US BY TASS CORRESPONDENT ALEXEI GOLYAYEV.

"In my opinion the disarmament proposals advanced by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the most important put forward in the entire postwar period," Senator Enzo Enriques Agnoletti, a Left Independent Senator said. "Never before has mankind been faced with international problems of such complexity as at present. I am convinced that today we are not only duty bound to resolve them, but also in a position to do so.

"The proposals for disarmament in Europe are the most acceptable for all sides that have ever been advanced. Those who reject peace initiatives are revealing their striving to whip up tension and to bring pressure, economic pressure included, to bear on the Soviet Union.

"The governments of the EEC countries could be more explicit on questions of disarmament and display a greater sense of responsibility," the Senator continued. "As regards relations between West European countries and the United States, they should be re-examined in every aspect. Our country

regrettably agreed to the deployment of the new U.S. nuclear missiles at Comiso, Sicily. Now, considering the differences that have arisen between the West European countries and the U.S. on Mediterranean policy, this problem is becoming more acute."

The Senator gave a positive appraisal also of other Soviet proposals. At the same time he voiced disappointment with the position of the Italian government in regard to the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative.

"I think," the Senator said in conclusion, "that the Soviet Union, and Mikhail Gorbachev personally, are making a tremendous contribution to the easing of tension. I believe that the overwhelming majority of the West European countries, the peoples of our continent, support this policy. It must be noted, however, that the United States is pursuing its old course, in which there have been no appreciable changes to this day. The solution of the problem of disarmament is an imperative of our time. What can be done today must not be put off for tomorrow. Otherwise, the situation could get out of hand."

Major General Filipp Gontar:

Reliable European and world security can be achieved today only by reducing troop and arms levels to reasonable limits, building mutual confidence, and reaching balanced agreements at negotiations. The socialist allies' new initiative is aimed at a troop and arms reduction in Europe over a territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals.

All components of the European countries' ground troops and tactical strike air force, as well as the corresponding forces and potential of the United States and Canada deployed in Europe, shall undergo coordinated reductions. Tactical nuclear weapons with an effective range of up to 1,000 km are to be reduced simultaneously with conventional weapons. It is plain that troop and conventional arms reductions should be carried out gra-

dually, to coordinated schedules, with parity constantly preserved at lower levels without detriment to the security of either side.

The appeal suggests that the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO should now, as a first step, carry out a single reciprocal reduction of their armed forces by 100,000-150,000 men within a year or two. Given our partners' good will and readiness, it would be quite possible to follow it up immediately with a reduction of both alliances' troops and tactical air forces in Europe by 25 per cent—or more than half a million men on either side—in the early nineties as compared with the present level. As a result, the armies confronting each other in Europe would have shrunk by a total of over a million men. An impressive figure!

The reduction in the numerical strength of army units would be accompanied by a similar reduction in their standard weapons, tactical nuclear arms included. All the

signatories to the agreements would undertake not to increase the relevant components outside the reduction zone.

In order to minimize the danger of a surprise attack, it is suggested that an agreement should be reached, at the very outset, on a considerable reduction of both alliances' tactical strike air forces and the concentration of troops along the confrontation line. This could be facilitated by agreements on restricting major troop exercises (in number and scale), the exchange of more detailed information about the exercises, and the troops and resources brought into Europe from elsewhere for their duration, and on other confidence-building measures. In the opinion of the allied socialist countries the establishment of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons on the continent, and a gradual curtailment in both alliances' military activity, would contribute to the les-

sening of the threat of war in Europe.

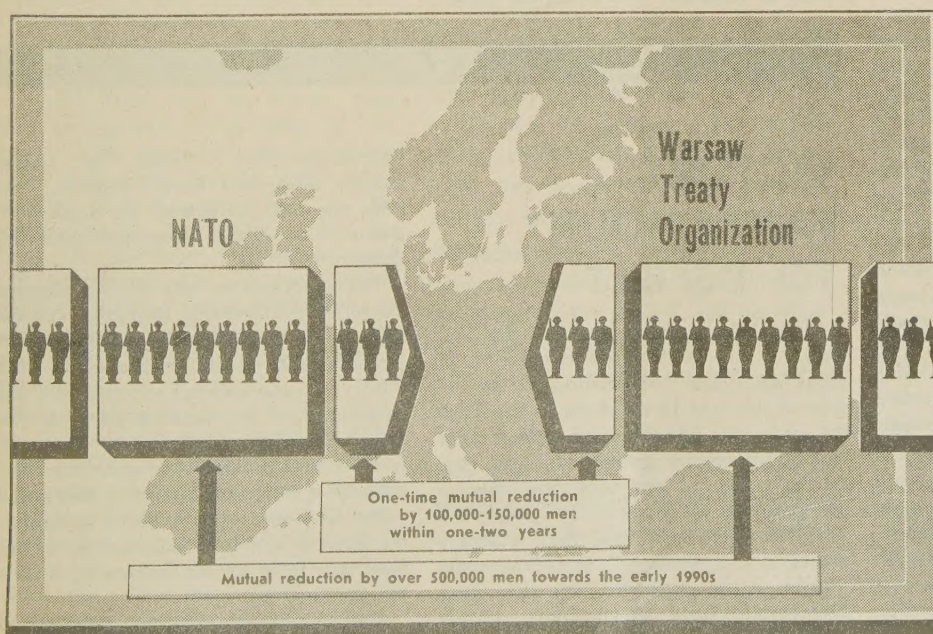
I should like to stress that all reductions are to be carried out under reliable and effective control using both national technical facilities and international procedures which would include on-the-spot inspections. Furthermore, the Warsaw Treaty countries suggest that the military activity of the troops remaining after the reductions be placed under observation.

The appeal suggests that an international consultative commission be established for the purpose of maintaining control over the observance of the agreement. The commission should comprise representatives from both alliances and from the neutral, non-aligned and other European states concerned. Whenever necessary, on-the-spot control over troop reduction, and the destruction or storage of arms could be carried out with the cooperation of the commission's personnel. Control posts could be set up for the purpose at major railway junctions, aerodromes and ports.

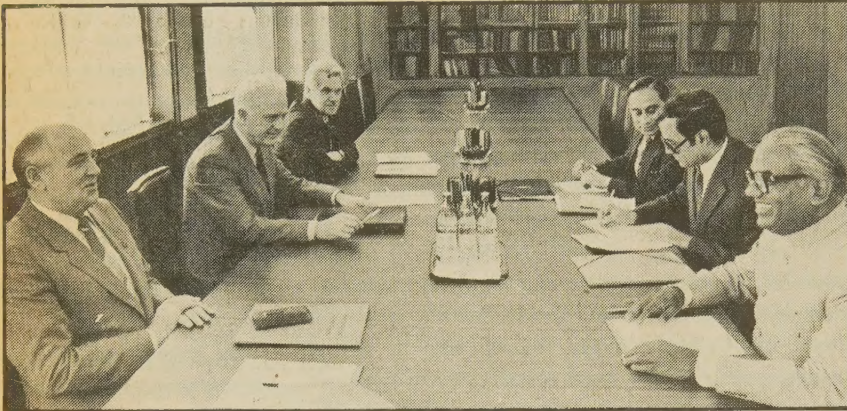
The reductions suggested by the allied socialist states stem from the defensive character of the Warsaw Treaty military doctrine, which presupposes the maintenance of military parity at the lowest possible level, and the reduction of military potential to the limits essential to defence.

The initiative shown in Budapest is of special importance, the resolution of the June 1986 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee states. The appeal adopted by the conference adds weight and substance to the programme for the abolition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

THE ARMS FORCES REDUCTION PLAN



U.S.S.R.—INDIA



ON A SOLID FOUNDATION

The friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and India rest on the solid foundation of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation concluded in August 1971. The road traversed by our two countries since then offers a convincing example of how fruitful the relations between countries with different social systems can be, given good will and respect for each other's interests. This is precisely the characteristic feature of Soviet-Indian ties. Meetings between the two countries at summit level set the tone for these relations. Important, too, is the role of contacts and consultations at other levels.

This may be judged, among other things, by the results of the working visit to Moscow in mid-June of P. Shiv Shankar, the recently appointed Minister of External Affairs and Trade of India. The minister was received by Mikhail Gorbachev, to whom he conveyed a message from Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and had talks with Eduard Shevardnadze. Both bilateral cooperation and topical international problems were examined in the course of these meetings. Both sides voiced satisfaction with the high standard, dynamism and multiformity of their relations and expressed a mutual desire to continue to broaden and deepen them.

Against the background of the present tense situation in the world Soviet-Indian relations are of particular significance. The growing cooperation of Moscow and Delhi on the world arena is becoming an increasingly constructive factor in resolving the vital problem of our time—the prevention of a nuclear cata-

strophe and the strengthening of universal security. For the positions of our two countries coincide or closely approximate on the basic issues of world politics. We cooperate closely and productively at the most diverse levels—global, regional and bilateral.

India, P. Shiv Shankar noted, highly appreciates the Soviet Union's far-reaching foreign policy initiatives aimed at ridding mankind of the nuclear threat hanging over it and at creating a reliable comprehensive system of international security. The Soviet Union, as was again reaffirmed at the Moscow meetings, has the greatest respect for India's independent foreign policy of peace. The non-aligned movement over which Delhi now presides, plays a highly prestigious role in world affairs. Likewise working

actively and productively on behalf of peace and disarmament are the "Delhi Six," the six countries from four continents, including India, which in recent years have been exerting much effort towards the elimination of mass destruction weapons and primarily the banning of all nuclear tests.

It is in no small measure for this reason that external imperialist quarters are trying by diverse means to damage India, weaken it and place its unity and territorial integrity in jeopardy. That foreign interference in the internal affairs of other countries is impermissible was stressed at the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and the Indian Minister. "A particularly odious form of such interference designed to destabilize the internal socio-political order in countries," says the communiqué on this meeting, "is terrorism and the encouragement of terrorism." This is clearly a reference to the unceasing terrorist actions of the Sikh extremists in Punjab, who enjoy the patronage of Pakistan (many of them undergo military training there), and a number of Western countries as well, primarily the United States.

Soviet people fervently wish the Indian people success in overcoming the difficulties that have arisen and further progress, firm unity and territorial integrity of their great country.

A. USVATOV

Mikhail Gorbachev receives P. Shiv Shankar, Minister of External Affairs and Trade of India.

TASS photo

F.R.G.

VICTORY TANTAMOUNT TO DEFEAT

"The CDU came on top but the SPD won," is the paradoxical conclusion of local observers commenting on the results of the June 15 elections to the Landtag of Lower Saxony. And indeed the Social Democrats polled 42.2 per cent of the votes, 5.7 per cent more than in the previous elections in 1982, while the Christian Democrats lost their absolute majority and remained in power only thanks to the support of the Free Democratic Party which again barely managed to obtain the necessary 5 per cent of the vote. The conservative-

liberal coalition, formed in Lower Saxony after the Bonn pattern, has only one seat more than the opposition parties—the Social Democrats and the Greens.

The elections in one of the biggest states in the Federal Republic (Lower Saxony is second only to Bavaria in territory and holds 4th place in the F.R.G. for population,) showed that the popularity of the leading party of the ruling coalition continues to wane. It will be recalled that last year the CDU suffered a shattering defeat in two states—the Saar and North Rhine-Westphalia. And now the Chancellor's party has lost heavily in Lower Saxony as well—6.4 per cent.

The main reason for the setbacks of the Christian Democrats is their inability to cope with the most urgent prob-

lems. The situation in Lower Saxony itself where unemployment now affects 11.5 per cent of the adult population is indicative.

Realizing full well the importance of the Lower Saxony elections (if the CDU were removed from power, the ruling parties would lose their majority in the Bundesrat which would enable the opposition to block laws approved by the Bundestag) official Bonn undertook manoeuvres to help Prime Minister Albrecht to stay at the helm. Local newsmen quip that the conservatives decided to show the electorate that they are "greener" than the Greens, more "liberal" than the liberals and more "social" than the Social Democrats. A new ministry was hastily set up in Bonn to deal with environmental protection. The debate on "internal security" laws, legalizing a system of total surveillance, was postponed until "better times." The farmers, whose position has been steadily deteriorating owing to the decline in farm prices, were promised financial support. It is clear, however, that the appearance of one more ministry cannot essentially alter government policy, the introduction of anti-democratic laws has not been removed from the agenda and a short-term programme of aid to the farmers will not halt the process of their ruin.

It was precisely the policy of the federal government that caused a substantial section of the electorate to turn away from the CDU. As for the Chancellor, his popularity has never been so low: only 28 per cent of the inhabitants of Lower Saxony believe he is coping with his duties.

Particularly widespread is dissatisfaction with Bonn's foreign policy thanks to which, Stern says, the F.R.G. "has been turned into a 51st state of the U.S.A." After promising to "safeguard peace with fewer weapons," the ruling coalition gave the green light to the deployment on its territory of the American first-strike missiles, arranged with Washington for the participation of F.R.G. firms in the militarization of outer space, and approved of the production in the U.S. of binary chemical weapons.

The elections in Lower Saxony were also a lesson for the opposition. They showed that popular dissatisfaction with the policy of the ruling parties is not enough to remove them from power. What is needed is a convincing positive programme. In the foreign policy sphere the SPD does have such a programme: it stands for the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe, it is opposed to F.R.G. participation in SDI, and favours the crea-

tion in Central Europe of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons. The same, however, cannot be said of its economic and social platforms, of its slogan of "reconciliation instead of division." Such calls are not finding unanimous support even inside the party.

The outcome of the elections was affected in some measure also by the propaganda campaign started here after the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station. Exaggerating it out of all proportion and dramatizing the consequences, the mass media stirred up panic among the population. In the final analysis the campaign played into the hands of the CDU. As SPD Chairman Willy Brandt observed in a TV interview, it helped to divert attention from such unpleasant subjects for the CDU as mass unemployment and

social injustice. The Greens, who as is known are opposed to the use of nuclear energy even for peaceful purposes, made this question the centre of their election campaign, counting on adding substantially to their vote. But their hopes on this score did not materialize—the Party merely succeeded in preserving its positions.

The political parties regarded the Lower Saxony elections as a trial of strength before the general election due in January next year. However, it is as difficult to predict the outcome today as it was prior to June 15.

A. TOLPEGIN

Our Own Correspondent

Bonn

ITALY

THE PRESSURE WORKED

The Italian government will join in the American "star wars" project, Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti told newsmen on his return from a brief visit to Washington.

After talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz, Andreotti said it had been decided to sign an intergovernment agreement on Rome's participation in SDI after the pattern of that already concluded between the U.S.A. and the F.R.G. The agreement would evidently take the form of an exchange of letters stipulating that the Italian side will assume responsibility for the Italian firms taking part in the project, and the American side, for the application of the results of their research in giving effect to SDI.

The Italian delegation to the negotiations with the U.S. will be headed by Ambassador Renato Rugiero, general secretary of the Italian Foreign Office.

Official Rome took the initial step towards joining SDI in early March 1986, when Italian industrial companies were given the opportunity to participate in the realization of Reagan's "star wars"

plan. The decision was taken by a special inter-ministerial committee headed by Prime Minister Bettino Craxi. The grounds given by the committee for this step was that participation in SDI could supposedly guarantee Italian industry technological and scientific advantages. Italy thus became the third European country, after Britain and the F.R.G., to support Washington's plan to create a space strike weapon. However, Washington insisted on Italy's political support of the Strategic Defence Initiative as well.

In an effort to involve its NATO ally more securely in the project, the White House stepped up its pressure on Rome. A sample of that pressure may be seen in the visit to Italy in early June of U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Michael Armacost. The final communiqué on his talks with Italian Defence Minister Giovanni Spadolini stresses the lively interest evinced by the American side in cooperation with Italian industry in the sphere of SDI. The overseas emissary intimated that without an intergovernmental agreement Italian companies would have difficulty in obtaining contracts in the framework of SDI. The warning had the desired effect.

A. TARAKANOV

SOUTH AFRICA

APARTHEID IN CONVULSIONS

By promulgating a state of emergency on June 12 South Africa's racist authorities sought to block the annual Soweto Day commemorations of the June 16, 1976 uprising in the "black" Soweto ghetto, which subsequently spread to other parts of the country.

The African National Congress (ANC) called on the country's black majority to mark this year's Soweto Day with a nationwide strike and mass rallies. In this they were seconded by the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and other anti-apartheid organizations.

Though the Botha government has outlawed strikes and all other mass events until the end of this month, anti-racist leaders have urged the population to ignore the ban. Alarmed, the racist leaders introduced a state of emergency and sent army regulars into action to assist the police. Botha declared that no policemen, servicemen or other punitive force would have to answer criminal charges.

A dragnet operation was mounted against anti-racist leaders, with more than four thousand arrests made during the first few days, among them figures prominent in the UDF and other anti-apartheid organizations. Some UDF leaders and militants were forced underground, inasmuch as the authorities had clearly resolved to decapitate and destroy anti-racist organizations. Pretoria radio announced that it was time to give short shrift to the forces of revolution.

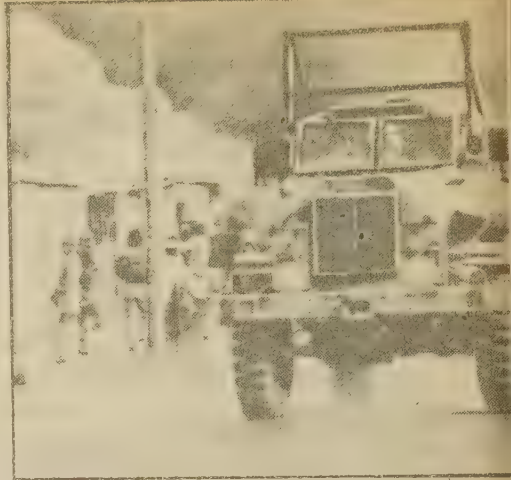
But despite draconian action by the authorities, the strike called for June 16 took place, with no enterprises, shops or transport working. There were also mass demonstrations, which in a number of places sparked off street fighting.

Though South Africa's racist authorities undoubtedly command a powerful apparatus of repression, the fact that they have to deploy almost all their army and police against their opponents indicates that the regime is in the throes of a deep-seated crisis. Indeed, this is the second state of emergency in under a year. The first began

on last July 21, and lasted seven months.

By resorting to this extreme measure, the South African authorities have in effect revealed that they are no longer in control. Their plans to decapitate the anti-racist movement are doomed to failure, inasmuch as the momentum of revolution pushes new fighters to the fore to take over from the fallen.

Currently the racists have again arrogantly challenged the world community and, more specifically, the world conference for sanctions against racist South Africa convened in Paris, also on June 16, in line with a decision of the U.N. General Assembly. The U.S., by refusing to participate, has only demonstrated once again that the racists have patrons in the White House who are doing their utmost to bar the enactment of effective sanctions against apartheid. However, for the world community the cup has run over, as is demonstrated by the Paris conference. In a message to it Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov said he hoped that its decisions would bring nearer the day when "the racist regime in South Africa was abolished." Meeting the day after the promulgation of the state of emergency in South Africa, the U.N. Security Council demanded that it be revoked at once, reaffirming that South



The racist police attack anti-apartheid fighters in Crossroads township.

Reuter-TASS telephoto

Africa's oppressed people have every legal right to strive for the complete abolition of apartheid.

South Africa's government is patently unable to adapt to the modern world, in which apartheid is a repugnant anachronism. The unseemly shuttling between lying promises of reform and the promulgation of a state of emergency merely shows that these are the final convulsions of a doomed regime.

Y. BOCHKARYOV

BARBADOS

NEW CABINET'S POSITION

This island state in the Caribbean with its population of 300,000 rarely figures in the world press. A favourite haunt of pirates in the past and later a British colony which gained political independence in 1966, it is off the beaten track of newspaper reporters. Little affected by big politics, it was generally regarded as a quiet corner of our planet. It was only in October 1983, when the United States invaded defenceless Grenada, that the name of this exotic island leapt into the limelight in radio broadcasts and newspaper headlines. But that was infamy rather than fame. At a secret conference called by the then rulers of Barbados, headed by

John Adams, under the aegis of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, these Washing-



PANORAMA

ton puppets asked President Reagan to invade progressive Grenada. Moreover, they obligingly allowed the American military to use Barbados territory as a springboard for the aggression.

Now Barbados is again in the news. This time in connection with internal political developments. A new government has come to power on the island. The general election held in late May ended in victory for the opposition Democratic Labour Party which gained 24 of the 27 seats in parliament. The former ruling Barbados Labour Party suffered a crushing defeat. This was the penalty imposed by the voters for its economic policy pursued in the interests of the International Monetary Fund and the transnational corporations, and for following in the wake of the adventurist policy of the United States.

On taking office on June 3, the new Prime Minister Errol Barrow declared that his cabinet would pursue a foreign policy independent of Washington. He condemned the pro-American course steered by Caribbean countries like Jamaica and Dominica, and made it plain that he did not propose to allow Barbados to serve as a bridgehead for U.S. aggressive schemes with regard to the Caribbean peoples. The Prime Minister also voiced his categorical opposition to the presence on the island of agents of the CIA and other American special services.

This was an extremely symptomatic programme statement for a country that had generally been regarded as politically the most pro-American of all the Caribbean mini-states. Stationed there are the headquarters of the U.S. naval

forces operating in the eastern part of the Caribbean and of the so-called "regional system of security and defence," a Washington sponsored military-political bloc of eastern Caribbean countries which the U.S. used to camouflage its invasion of Grenada as a "multinational action." Errol Barrow has on more than one occasion called for the re-examination of Barbados' participation in that bloc.

The voice of the new Barbados authorities has sounded a sharply dissonant note in the chorus of Caribbean pro-American regimes. Which shows that after three years' occupation of neighbouring Grenada by the U.S. marines fresh winds are again blowing on the Caribbean islands.

A. BARYSHEV

NON-DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE

Letter from U.S. Embassy in Moscow to
Mr Alexander N. Aksyonov
Chairman, State Committee for Radio and Television

Dear Mr Aksyonov:

I regret I must draw your attention to a particularly offensive and false item which was broadcast during the *Vremya* news programme this last May 6th. I am referring to the broadcast of the TASS report from Aden, the supposed "Commentary of the ANA Agency," which stated that the CIA arranged the April 5th bombing of the LaBelle discotheque in West Berlin.

That the article itself is disgusting goes without saying, but of course what the South Yemeni press writes lies outside the control of your State Committee. However, it is within your power to control what appears on your television programmes. Thus I am astonished that GOSTELERADIO would allow *Vremya* to give credence to such lies as this by broadcasting them to the Soviet people, particularly at a time when both of our governments are endeavouring to increase media exchange activities.

Knowing that the U.S. government informed your government in advance that a Libyan-sponsored terrorist attack was imminent only magnifies the irresponsibility of this broadcast.

The U.S. government, and I personally, find the broadcast of this item an obvious attempt to score cheap propaganda points at the expense of truth and dignity. It is insulting, unprofessional, and highly unacceptable.

I would hope that you, as the person responsible for what is broadcast on Soviet television, would direct that a disavowal of these lies be broadcast on *Vremya* at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,

Richard E. COMBS, Jr., Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Letter to U.S. Embassy in Moscow

Dear Mr Combs,

Your letter amazed me. It was strange, to say the least. Why?

First, it was strange that an official American representative should complain about the television of a sovereign country broadcasting a report circulated by the news agency of another sovereign country.

Second, are not passions running rather too high over the content of the above-mentioned report? And this at a time when the press and the television and radio networks of the United States are full of fabrications, slander and the most ridiculous inventions about the Soviet Union, its people, and its foreign and domestic policy. There is no dearth of examples of this: the false accusation of support for terrorism levelled against the U.S.S.R., the amoral and essentially anti-humane propaganda orgy around the accident in Chernobyl, and, finally the latest outrageous statements and writings concerning the status of the sovereign Baltic Union Republics of our multinational state.

Third, it is strange that you should continue to harp on the assertion that the U.S. government informed the Soviet government in advance that a terrorist attack was in preparation in West Berlin. I shall not go into that again. Sufficiently clear explanations have been given on this score and are known to the world public.

Fourth, the tone and peremptory nature of the demands contained in your letter are surprising. After all, you are not dealing with a TV channel in some provincial U.S. state, but with the national television of a sovereign country.

In general, if you are sincerely interested in improving relations between our countries, please do not ever adopt such a tone in communicating with Soviet people and official organizations.

Please forgive me for my frankness and also for having been too busy to reply to your letter earlier.

Sincerely,

Alexander AKSYONOV
Chairman, U.S.S.R. State Committee for Radio and Television

The End of the Euphoria

YURI ZHUKOV

The sharpening of differences within NATO, which manifested itself so strikingly at the bloc's Halifax, Canada, session last May, came as a surprise to no one. In April NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington had warned in a BBC interview that the situation in NATO was very bad—worse than he remembered it ever having been. Commenting on this statement, the British paper *The Guardian* explained that the NATO Secretary-General meant differences between the United States and most of the West European allies on the issue of the air raid on Libya.

Official Washington was jubilant on the day of the attack against this Arab country with a population of three and a half million. The raid was presented as a great military victory which demonstrated the deadly efficiency of American arms and American airmen's unsurpassed combat skill. The President himself thanked them for their exemplary fulfilment of their mission although Washington later admitted that "because of various glitches seven out of the 32 attack planes had been forced to abort their bombing runs" and that the rest did badly enough to hit residential buildings around the French Embassy killing 37 people and wounding 93.

The American observers Russell Watson, John Barry and John Walcott whom I've just quoted could have added to their reports that the air strike left many old men, women and children dead and maimed, and the French and some other embassies seriously damaged. The Pentagon obviously regarded these as minor collaterals unworthy of attention. The newspapers, radio and television endlessly reiterated that Americans solidly backed the President's decision to "punish" Gaddafi.

The only thing that marred the American leaders' pleasure was that Muammar Gaddafi had survived, so they told newsmen quite frankly that air raids on Libya would probably have to be continued.

Admittedly, these intentions did not come up against any vigorous opposition inside the U.S. The idea (though not substantiated by a single authentic fact) that Gaddafi was the "terror's most blatant sponsor" had been instilled in the Americans for so long that their reaction, according to *Newsweek*, rang-

ed from "quiet satisfaction to jingoist crowing."

The gangster attack, which caused public anxiety and indignation across the world, turned many an American's head, but with time the euphoria began to pass, giving way to a hangover. The U.S. President, however, continued to tell his compatriots to keep their spirits up, and that America had done what it had to do. But those who still had a shred of conscience could not believe that the killing of Gaddafi's baby daughter, or the shedding of the blood of dozens of innocent Libyans were necessary to protect U.S. vital interests.



Demonstrations like this swept most capitals of Western Europe, which is seriously disquieted by the imperial ambitions and growing adventurism of the U.S. Administration.

The President stirred up further anxiety worldwide by saying that he would not content himself with the strike against Libya and might order an attack on Syria, Iran or any other state should he suspect it of complicity in "international terrorism." According to *Newsweek*, this had made more and more Americans ask themselves "uneasy questions" such as: "Where was this cycle of violence heading and what would it cost?"

The U.S. allies' response to the policy of neoglobalism in action is much more definite. Having conducted a public opinion poll in a number of countries, *Newsweek*, in a special issue, drew a picture from which the inventors of this policy can hardly take heart.

The article summing up the poll returns and eloquently entitled "The Allies: A Widening Gap" says: "The raid stirred a wave of anti-American rage across Europe and threatened to create a profound crisis of confidence in the Atlantic alliance. Whatever else it may have accomplished, the American raid on Libya exposed with cruel clarity the wide and probably widening gulf between European and American views of how their 35-year-old alliance should work. Most Europeans came out of the experience feeling they had been confronted with a brutal fait accompli that they could neither alter, nor approve."

According to a *Newsweek* poll, 66 per cent of Britons and 75 per cent of West Germans questioned opposed the American attack. *Newsweek* writes that David Steel, the leader of the British Liberal Party, "drew applause when he accused Prime Minister Thatcher of having 'turned the British bulldog into a

Reagan poodle'" by permitting the use of British aerodromes as springboards for the American planes' attack on Libya.

Eric Heffer, a Labour MP, went even farther than that. He called the U.S. President "one of the biggest international terrorists alive." A *New York Times* correspondent reported from London that "a high proportion of Britons have come to believe that the U.S. in general and President Reagan in particular

are inclined to the reckless use of military power."

The chauvinistically-minded Americans' arrogant and irritable attitude to their allies only served to antagonize the latter still further. The U.S. President himself largely contributed to this by his pronouncements. Asked at a recent press conference, for instance, how he explained the unwillingness of other Western leaders to join him in his efforts, he replied in a tone which is now characteristic that he was not going to do any explaining but would leave that to the allies.

A week later the explanation was provided by Theo Sommer, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper Zeit, a prominent F.R.G. public figure of rather conservative views. "We have heard it all before," he wrote in an article entitled "Reagan's High Noon Mentality," "Europeans are craven, they run scared in any crisis and they leave the Americans in the lurch whenever the chips are down... The real point is that most Europeans—not only habitual anti-Americans—think the United States was wholly wrong to use its bombers against Libya: morally wrong, politically wrong, strategically wrong."

Like all responsible people, Europeans condemn terrorism but do not think that acts like the bombings of sovereign states offer an effective solution to the problem. All the more so as the accusations proffered by the U.S. against Libya raise serious doubts.

"The evidence is not at all clear," Sommer pointed out, "not even to some of the high officials who have seen it. If it were truly strong evidence, why not place it squarely before the public? Has this evidence perhaps been tampered with? U.S. administrations have doctored data before. Europeans remember the Tonkin Gulf Resolution that put America on the path to disaster in Vietnam."

States Sommer: "There is only derision in Europe for American boasting about 'surgical strikes.' In the eyes of the outside world it is barbarism coolly taken in stride."

The U.S. President arrogantly left it to the West Europeans "to do the explaining." Well, now they have done it.

What happened next is common knowledge. At the Tokyo meeting of the

heads of the seven leading capitalist powers the U.S. partners, under pressure from their Big Brother, adopted a resolution absolving its sins and actually condemning the victim of the aggression—Libya. Was it this resolution that "inspired" the U.S. Congress to vote for new economic sanctions against Libya?

But no matter how hard the authors of the Tokyo resolution try to camouflage it, discord among NATO member states, far from abating, continues to grow and frequently manifests itself in the most dramatic forms.

I mean, in particular, the political scandal (let us call a spade a spade) which erupted at the Halifax session of the NATO Council. In Halifax, high-ranking U.S. officials tried again to arm-twist their partners into an unqualified acceptance of Washington's scrapping of the nuclear arms limitation treaties.

This time the differences have spilled out beyond the conference hall and been stormily discussed in the U.S. Congress and the parliaments of the NATO countries; the heads of the North Atlantic bloc states dwell on them at considerable length. I shall not go into details, as much has already been written about these discussions. I should only like to

point up the connection between the new flare-up of acute contradictions in NATO and the unfavourable view of the U.S. 'armed forces' "punitive action" against Libya.

Hard as Washington may now try to prove that the discord in NATO is a natural and even healthy sign of the bloc's "democratism," shrewder observers are sounding the alarm. They note that the U.S. allies in the North Atlantic bloc are seriously worried by the American Administration's great-power peremptoriness.

It looks as if Washington's decision to annul all the treaties and agreements restricting the arms race was more than the U.S. allies could bear.

True, there is no denying the class solidarity of international capitalism and the military discipline in the North Atlantic bloc. The leaders of the West European powers are hard put to criticize their senior partner in public. When doing so, they accompany their apologetic expressions of disagreement on this or that issue with elaborate assurances of their confidence in the strength of the alliance. Behind all their reservations, however, one can clearly discern the great anxiety caus-

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE



KURT WALDHEIM

school of Vienna University and studied at the Vienna Consular Academy.

Kurt Waldheim embarked on a diplomatic career in 1945. He held a number of executive posts at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in Austria's diplomatic missions abroad. He was Ambassador to Canada, and headed the Foreign Ministry's personnel department and political division. Upon Austria's admission to the United Nations in 1955 he was appointed permanent observer for Austria and, later, its Ambassador at the U.N. In 1968-70 Kurt Waldheim was Austria's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In 1971 Kurt Waldheim was elected U.N. Secretary-General, and re-elected to that post for a

second term in 1976. As U.N. Secretary-General, he worked actively to increase the United Nations' effectiveness in strengthening international security, called for the curbing of the arms race, and the abolition of the vestiges of colonialism and racism. In his public statements he stressed the importance of stopping all nuclear tests and carrying on the policy of East-West détente.

Kurt Waldheim has visited the Soviet Union many times. He advocates the maintenance and development of Soviet-Austrian relations.

Kurt Waldheim is the author of a number of books and articles on international affairs. He is married with three grown-up children.

ed by the growing adventurism of U.S. foreign policy.

The anxiety is increased by the not unimportant circumstance that several NATO countries are heading for parliamentary elections during which their leaders will be asked by the electorate what they have to show for constantly aiding and abetting Uncle Sam.

The New York Times has carried an interesting article on the subject by James Reston, a veteran American observer, under the heading "Coming Political Storms." "In the next couple of years," James Reston writes, "by the accidents of the political calendar, most of the allies will be facing elections that could change the course of world events. This is likely to be a period of unusual stress. So it will take some foresight and what's here called 'damage control' to keep national politics from making foreign policy more divisive than it is at present."

Having pointed out that "even before the campaigns have got into their silly phase, there's more damage around the alliance than control," Reston mentioned some of the U.S. foreign policy acts to cause tension in international relations. "Mr Reagan's bomber diplomacy in Libya and his decision to go it alone on the Second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty arrangements," he points out, "have kicked up a storm of criticism from Capitol Hill to Europe and Japan. Add to this controversies with the Congress over more military arms for Saudi Arabia and his troubles, and you have to wonder what he means by saying the alliance has never been stronger."

Further, James Reston shows what a difficult position the leaders of certain U.S.-allied countries have found themselves in as a result of backing any adventurist act by Washington: "Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, whose support of Mr Reagan's air raid on Libya didn't detract from her unemployment or education problems, is in trouble with a Labour opposition that is leading in the polls and wants to get rid of U.S. nuclear bases in the United Kingdom.

"The President's other conservative buddy in Europe, Chancellor Kohl of West Germany is finding that his support of President Reagan may be a ticket to retirement."

Reston remarks that the discord in

NATO is having an adverse effect on American-French relations as well. Washington is now less assured of Paris' support than ever. "In France," Reston writes, "President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Chirac are finding that their experiment in political cohabitation may end in divorce sooner than expected."

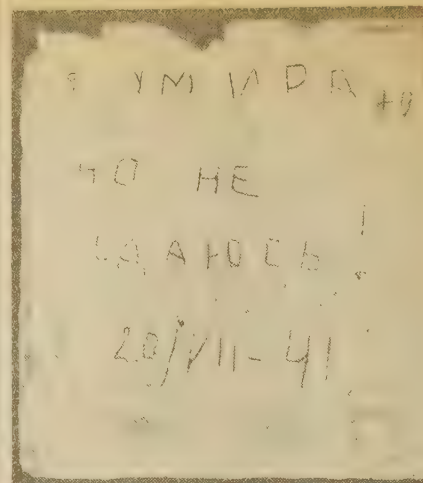
In the article entitled "A Diplomatic Blunder" (meaning the U.S. Administration's decision to stop observing SALT-2) the Washington Post points out that "every NATO ally is alarmed and annoyed." U.S. News and World Report notes that Reagan has rarely been in such complete isolation on a major foreign policy issue before and reminds its readers that "all America's allies in Europe without exception have called on Mr Reagan to think better of his decision.

Bitter disillusionment is spreading even to those Americans who only recently applauded Washington's "cowboy methods" in the world arena, and its unrestrained use of arms and subversion as "foreign policy tools."

Upon re-visiting the U.S. after five months' absence, Norman Birnbaum, a Vorwärts (F.R.G.) correspondent in that country, made the following interesting comment on the current change in public feeling there: "Reagan's frenzied speeches, his absurd exaggerations and the unsurpassed lies he piles up mobilize the right in his own party but, by all accounts, leave the general public cold. Despite television, the rest of the world appears to millions of Americans to be far, far away. They are preoccupied with their daily chores and family affairs.... This attitude restricts Reagan's adventurism. The American empire, inhabited by people under no circumstances prepared to pay any price for it, has finally come to its senses. It is to be regretted that at this very moment the right-wing European governments are responding to Reagan's bellicose bragadocio with contemptible cowardice."

Well, the American empire having finally come to its senses is certainly an overstatement on the part of the Vorwärts correspondent. Nothing of the kind is in the offing yet. But then his criticism of the right-wing West European governments, which, though the euphoria has passed, still display "contemptible cowardice" by limiting themselves to verbal disagreement with Washington's adventurist acts, is dead on target.

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)



A message to the living from one of those who died fighting to his last breath. It reads: "I am dying but I will not surrender."

I was called up with my twin brother Nikolai in October 1940. We had finished secondary school in Kotelnich, Kirov region, and planned to go on to study philosophy at university. But, it being a troubled time, we found ourselves in the army instead. We prevailed upon the draft officer to send us both to the 44th Infantry Regiment commanded by Major Gavrilov. We began to practice handling mortars and machine guns at once.

It was in April 1941 that our unit was moved to the Brest Fortress. It was an ancient fortress with underground passages. The calm waters of the Mukhavets River reflected the moss-grown walls of the Citadel and the famous Three-Arch Gates.

The next day Major Gavrilov talked to us.

"You two brothers have finished ten-year school, haven't you?"

"Yes, Comrade Major."

"Fine. Lieutenant Kryukov is forming a company of reserve lieutenants. You'll be in his charge as cadets."

There were worrying goings-on in the border area. From their observation towers soldiers could see German troops arriving in the border villages, pulling up heavy artillery towards the Bug River, and tanks moving eastward from Terespol.

In early June the newspapers reported that the German ambassador in Moscow had made new proposals to broaden economic ties between Germany and the U.S.S.R. We were aware that freight trains were passing through Brest in both directions day and night.

"Close observation of the Russians," Heinz Guderian would write in his "Memoirs of a Soldier," "convinced me that they were totally unaware of our intentions. In the courtyard of the Brest

How the War Began

Perhaps no one can tell how the war began better than the defenders of the Brest Fortress. They found themselves in the main line of attack from a most powerful group of Wehrmacht troops. The Nazi strategists had planned to take the fortress by storm by noon on June 22, 1941. This was not to be. Its defenders held out for almost a month. The courage of these people has inspired legends and become our national pride.

Only a few dozen of the three and a half thousand officers and men who took part in the heroic defence are still alive today. **ALEXEI ISPOLATOV**, now assistant professor at the Moscow Civil Engineering Institute, talks to a *New Times* correspondent about the first minutes, hours and days of the Great Patriotic War.

Fortress which we could see from our observation posts, they were mounting guard to the sounds of a band."

On the eve of the invasion the regiment left the fortress for the summer camps. Our company remained for garrison duty.

For a long time that night I could not sleep. The weather was wonderful. Lying in my greatcoat on the bunk, my head resting on my brand-new gas mask, the strap of my cartridge pouch loose, I watched a new guard set out on sentry duty. My brother was among them.

"Have a good time" Nikolai saluted me cheerfully with his rifle as he left with his mate. Sasha Pleshkov and I were to replace him on sentry duty at the ammunition store in exactly three hours' time. I could not know that we would next meet in five years time, in 1946.

I woke up because the ground was shaking. There was thunderous noise combined with flashes of fire. The thick walls of the guards house in the Citadel shook. Glass was shattered and the iron rail on the windows was twisted and warped like a dry leaf. The domed ceiling looked as if it was going to collapse at any moment. Between explosions one heard the screams and moaning of wounded men.

The enemy fire was so dense that some of the smaller shells flew in through the embrasures... Many years later, when I told the writer Sergei Smirnov about it, he showed me a map found on a dead Nazi officer. It showed the Northern Fortification and the trajectories of shells to be fired from the Polish bank of the Western Bug.

The shelling let up and we ran out into the yard. It was morning and we saw the rising sun as if through a smoke-

blackened window. There was dust and the smell of burning everywhere. Maimed horses were neighing in the stable nearby. In the yard, regimental commissar Artamonov was rallying the men.

"To the machine gun!"

He pushed me towards the shell hole where a dead soldier lay, his head resting on the butt of a Degtyarev machine gun. Carefully I eased the gun out of his hands.

"Fire, fire!"

I saw men in strange uniforms, sleeves rolled up, Tommy guns at the ready running out of the Three-Arch Gates. Was I frightened? I do not remember, I had no time to sort out my feelings. I fired a few rounds. Everything happened so quickly that I had no time to reflect that it was the first time I was not shooting at practice targets....

The gun throbbed in my hands and I had hard time steadying it. My only thought was, "Don't let it jam." Then I heard shouts, "Fire to your left!"

A lieutenant led his men in a charge. I seized my rifle and joined them. We were running towards the bridge across the Mukhavets. A soldier next to me fell, riddled with submachine-gun fire. The fire intensified and we had to lie down. At last a group of men were able to make their way to the commanders' barracks, only to find them in ruins.

"It's still better than nothing for cover," said the lieutenant. "Lie down by the window holes and fire on command!"

We were sure that we wouldn't have to be on the defensive long. Our regular troops would be here soon and they would wipe out the Nazis. We were confident that relief was on the way. We had to hold out and do our duty. It was not for nothing that in peacetime we had jumped from parachute towers, gone to flying clubs, studied Morse code, practised sharp-shooting and hurled grenades.

I was a rank-and-file soldier and had no way of knowing everything that was taking place in the fortress. Come to think of it, no one had the full picture. After the war I came across an article by Krupennikov, a military historian, which I think gives an accurate description of that day's events:

"The enemy's plan was to seize the Citadel by a surprise attack, thus forcing the garrison of the other forts to surrender. The forward group was the 135th German Infantry Regiment. Under the cover of an artillery barrage, its 3rd battalion crossed an arm of the Western Bug... With massive support from a landing force that came up the Bug, the enemy seized the bridge and the

Alexei Ispolatov as a Red Army private in 1941 and as assistant professor of the Moscow Civil Engineering Institute in 1986.



Terespol Gates and penetrated the Citadel, capturing the church [housing a club] that dominated it, and the officers' mess room. The advance of the rest of the 135th Inf., which had to engage in battle on the Terespol and Volyn fortifications, was checked. This led to the destruction of the advance force and disrupted the enemy's plans to seize the fortress without pausing."

Only the day before my brother and I had walked around the fortress, enjoying the greenery and the beautiful buildings. In the evening music was playing in the city park and film projectors were whirring away on the Northern Island. They were showing pictures there. Now, hidden behind ruined walls, we were holding off the attacking nazis.

The next morning the nazis launched a psychological attack from the direction of the Kobrin highway. They advanced in four rows, checkerwise. The first and the third rows fired continuously from the waist, the second and fourth handed them clips. We let them come near and opened fire. They sustained casualties and rolled back. We were given Fortress Order No. 1: hold out until the last, not a step back.

The nazis attacked stubbornly and kept us under constant fire. Every window and every projection was a target. Many of our men had been killed and the survivors could barely stand on their feet with exhaustion and nervous strain. But our morale was high.

"Fire accurately!" shouted the lieutenant. "Two bullets is too many for a nazi!"

"Lieutenant, the man next to me is wounded," I said.

"Take his ammunition."

"O.K."

Our situation was worsening: provisions were running out. We were lucky to have the stable nearby. We managed to stock up on some oil-cakes. Water was short. The Mukhavets was near but we could not reach it. The soldiers who set out for water did not come back. What worried us most of all was that there were women and children in the basement. We decided to take them to safety. Waving white cloths they emerged into the open. They were taken prisoner.... It is hard to imagine what we felt at that moment.

We continued to beat off attacks. It was the fifth night of siege. It looked as if relief was not going to come, and we were running out of ammunition. A liaison man from Major Gavrilov made his way into the Fortress.

"The order is to leave the fortress and retreat to the east!"

That was Order No. 2. It could not be conveyed to all the defenders. Many pockets of resistance were totally isolated.

There were about twenty survivors in our group. We decided to make our

way through the ruined houses, concentrate at the Northern Gates tunnel and force it in a rush. The lieutenant broke us up into groups. The first group was made up of Fyodor Skalenko from the Ukraine, Andrei Nazarov from Sverdlovsk and myself.

We ran into the tunnel. Our way was blocked by a wrecked GAZ-A car. We crawled under it, climbed the rampart and jumped into the fortress moat. The moat had long dried up in that place and was overgrown with thick brushwood. This is what we were counting on. Suddenly the nazis trained searchlights on the gates and opened up machine-gun fire. In reply came single rifle shots and short bursts of machine-gun fire.

"Friends!" whispered Nazarov.

Our hearts were heavy. We realized that our comrades had been spotted and might be fighting their last battle. But how could we help them? Climbing back onto the rampart was not easy and, anyway, as soon as you stuck your head out of the brushwood you made a fine target for the machinegunners. There was nothing we could do but try to get to the Warsaw Highway.

The fortress fought on. Later even the enemies spoke with respect of the valour of its defenders. The notorious Otto Skorzeny would write in his book "Special Missions":

"Some Russians in the central fortress of the city still resisted desperately. The outer defences had been captured, but I had to crawl, for the enemy sharpshooters missed nothing. Every summons to surrender and cease the futile resistance had been rejected and several attempts to creep up to the fortress and carry it by storm had failed. The dead soldiers in field-grey uniforms, which were lying about, were sufficient witness.... The Russians fought to the last round and the last man."

We retreated towards Kobrin where we expected to find our troops. It was a hard trek. Enemy planes appeared now and again. They combed the ground along the Warsaw Highway and dropped cluster bombs known as "frogs." One such "frog" exploded near me and I was shell-shocked. I came to in the forest to which my friends had carried me. It took me some time to realize where I was and what was happening. There was ringing in one ear and the other didn't seem to be there at all. I ran a hand over it and felt blood.

"Get up, mate, get up!" Skalenko begged me.

I saw Nazarov as if through a haze. He too was wounded, his arms swathed in an incredibly dirty towel. The knowledge that there must be Germans somewhere near brought my strength back and we moved on.

On the morning of the third day we were awakened by the roar of engines.

We were near a road. Was it friend or foe? Skalenko, being the strongest of us, grabbed a tommy gun and went to reconnoitre. Minutes seemed like an eternity. Then we heard his jubilant voice, "They're friends! Friends!"

I don't know where we got the strength. Leaning on each other, Nazarov and I hobbled in the direction of the voice. We saw Skalenko explaining something to a swarthy-looking captain. They were friends all right.

* * *

When the 20th anniversary of the fortress defence was celebrated it was on the initiative of the writer Sergei Smirnov that all the former defenders gathered there. There were many joyous unexpected meetings and many embraces. Many had been separated from each other in the first minutes of the war. Some defended the approaches to the Volyn Fortification rampart, others beat off nazi attacks on the Eastern Fort, others again fought in the Citadel. Their lives after that followed different paths. My unit broke out of encirclement, took part in the war and reached Berlin. Some were wounded and taken by the enemy. But they continued to fight even then. My brother Nikolai managed to escape. He joined the French Resistance. I also met Sasha Pleshkov. We came to the place where the guards house was. There were ruins there. Incidentally, it is now the site of a museum devoted to the Fortress Defence.

During the meeting in Brest we were gradually able to piece together what we told each other into a picture of the first days of the war. The fortress had been surrounded from the beginning. Fighting took place not only at the gates but inside the fortress. All the strong-points fought it on their own, as there was practically no communication between them: the bridges were destroyed. Up to about the 30th of June there was resistance all over the fortress territory. The enemy shelled the defenders with heavy guns, and used tanks and aircraft against a handful of people who for the most part carried small arms.

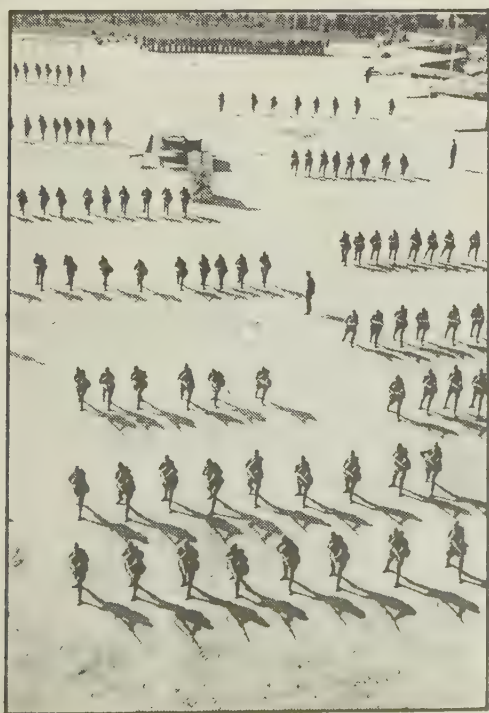
In July only small groups operating from basements and passages offered resistance. It was in the basements of the Central and Kobrin Forts that moving inscriptions made by dying defenders on the walls were discovered.

One more interesting detail. Many of those who came to Brest for the 20th anniversary of the defence remembered the air battle over the fortress on June 22, 1941. Many said that they had been witnesses of genuine courage. Four Soviet interceptor planes attacked eight German ME-109s. Several enemy planes were shot down. When one of the Soviet pilots ran out of ammunition, he rammed an enemy plane. It was only twenty years later that we learned the pilot's name. He was Lieutenant Pyotr Ryabtsev.

Interviewed by Boris BALKAREI

ARISE, GREAT LAND!

The photos, some of which are published here for the first time, were taken in the first days of the war by war correspondent Anatoly GARANIN



AT DAWN on June 22 war descended upon our country. The front extended from the White Sea to the Black. Air defence barrage balloons rose into the sky over the capital. For four long years the dark pall of war was to hang over the land.

Forty-five years have passed since that terrible day which sounded the knell for 20 million of my compatriots. Some things have been forgotten, some things have been imagined by succeeding generations. But documents remain: photos that tell it as it was, that cannot be altered or retaken. Here are some of the very first.





REMEMBER how that same day queues of volunteers formed outside mobilization centres and Party district committees. The townsfolk took to arms, tried on greatcoats, had their first lessons in the art of warfare in the environs of Moscow. Youngsters just graduated from school attained adulthood overnight. Look at their faces: many of these lads with the sombre, prematurely aged expressions are long since dead. Their greatcoats and uniforms have crumbled to dust, mingled with the earth; but these Unknown Soldiers of the war stand on guard immortalized in obelisks raised to their memory. For 1,418 days and nights the war raged on, and at every moment of it someone's life was cut short—a fighting man, a mother, a child, whole villages and towns.

On the first day of the war Moscow said: Ours is a just cause. Who believed in prophecies at that time?

The machinegunners in the trenches believed. So did the three million Communists who led their comrades into attack and fell on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War.

НАШЕ ДЕЛО ПРАВОЕ.
ВРАГ БУДЕТ РАЗБИТ.
ПОБЕДА БУДЕТ
ЗА НАМИ!



EARTH torn and mutilated by high explosive bombs and shells and blackened by flames. We, the soldiers, grey as the dusty road, forge ahead through fire-gutted ruins. It is as if we were not born of our mothers but hewn from stone. Look through the binoculars of Time. Do you see the line on that road where life ends and death begins? For the soldier that line did not exist. He plodded on, but always forward, towards the line where fear ended and a feat of valour began.

He did not think then that he would be a hero. He

was the thrust of the attack, the name on the honours list. And half a century later his grandson, with the same sombre expression, would finger his decorations, as if he too had trod the road traversed by the people, as if he too had seen the country bleeding and lacerated by war.

At the end of the roads of war, in a Berlin park where his fallen comrades lie buried, stands the bronze figure of a soldier holding a sword and pressing a child—the future he has saved—to his breast. From here he sees the earth from ocean to ocean tense with the presentiment of another war. He stands there to proclaim to the world that his hand, gripping the sword, will not tremble.

Boris KOZLOV



Documents now made public reconstruct Hitler's designs in the war against the Soviet Union

The Codeword Was "Dortmund"

LEV BESYMENSKY, New Times Political Analyst

Today the whole picture has emerged in all its details: the practical planning by the Nazi General Staff of the war against the Soviet Union began in the summer of 1940. At first, it was code-named "Restoration in the East," then "Fritz," and, finally, on Hitler's personal orders, "Barbarossa." On December 18, 1940, Directive 21 on the attack on the Soviet Union was signed. The signal for the beginning of hostilities was to be the codeword "Dortmund." On June 20, 1941, it was conveyed to the armed forces in a brief cipher telegram: "Codeword Dortmund June 22."

We now know what all these code-names stood for. The Nuremberg war crimes trial laid bare for the world to see the conspiracy against peace the industrial, political and military quarters of the Germany of the time had hatched. A sinister and very thoroughly prepared conspiracy. Capitalist propaganda and historians are still trying in vain to absolve imperialism from responsibility for this crime. Why? The answer is provided by other documents relating to the 1940s and 1950s that have now been made public—documents which were drawn up not by the Nazi but by the American war planners and contained no less detailed plans, likewise for an attack against the Soviet Union. Evidently, conspiratorial designs are part and parcel of any policy of social revanche, today as well.

But let us keep to the past which is forcibly brought to mind by the grim calendar date—June 22, 1941.

Two Files

The Barbarossa papers constitute a voluminous archive. Among them are two documents intended not for a limited circle of politicians, industrialists and military men, but for far wider use. They were circulated among all the units of the Wehrmacht as guidelines in carrying out Operation Barbarossa. The Wehrmacht had already "made the acquaintance" of Europe, having trampled Central, Northern, Western and Southeastern Europe under its iron

heel. But what about the Soviet Union? Even Hitler is said to have admitted that he did not know what was "behind that door."

The land forces General Staff, headed by Colonel General Franz Halder, kept the Nazi armies informed on this score. On May 15, 1941, File G containing "military and geographic information about European Russia (exclusive of Moscow)" was signed and sent to the troops. This was followed on June 20 by File H, with data on Moscow. Each file contained relevant maps and—what is of particular interest to us—a detailed commentary which not only described the geographical features of our country, but dwelt on the prospects of the forthcoming operation.

Indeed, nearly every "geographical" section was followed by a brief military evaluation. For instance, the introduction dealing with the role of Central Russia in the history and economy of Russia noted:

"The lesson to be drawn from Russian history is that in order to dominate Russia for a long period it is necessary to be in possession of Central Russia."

And after describing the physical features and climate of Central Russia, the General Staff went on record:

"The terrain is easy to cross even off the roads, except during the spring floods and after heavy rains."

"The relief in itself does not present an obstacle to troop movements, although in some places they may be impeded by rivers and swamps, also by seasonal condition of the soil. The unfavourable time for military operations is spring, from March to May. Sharp fluctuations of temperature place extreme stresses on the human organism, and the thaw makes most roads and rivers impassable. From June to October the climatic conditions are similar to the German, but the temperature is higher and demands greater exertion of effort from man and beast. Winter with its low temperatures calls for special measures to cope with the frost. On the other hand, the terrain becomes more passable."

The latter comment gives the lie to

the contention that the setbacks of the Wehrmacht were due to "unexpected frosts." The frosts were expected. In fact, the General Staff actually preferred them to the thaw that made the roads impassable. After the detailed survey of the military, geographic, climatic and other factors, came this conclusion:

"Central Russia is the heart of Russia, the capture of which by powerful armed forces can paralyze the whole country and disunite all the components of the vast Soviet state and, in the long run, destroy it. The most important objective of an offensive in Central Russia is Moscow."

File G thus clearly defined the objectives of the coming operation. File H went into them in greater detail. For on June 20, 1941, the German General Staff did not doubt that the Wehrmacht could take the Soviet capital. It was certain of this. And hence General Halder's department merely considered possible variants:

"In Russian conditions rapid evacuation of central government bodies after the outbreak of war is excluded. Consequently, when Moscow is taken, two extreme possibilities should be considered:

"1. The entire centralized administrative machinery of the state and the Party falls into the hands of the troops entering the city. Inasmuch as the economy, as we know, is subordinated to the state, information can be easily obtained on production capacity and reserves of this vast country.

"2. Retreating, the enemy will destroy all the government archives. But this will in effect paralyze the administration of the territory remaining in his hands."

It all seemed very simple. The architects of the plan for the capture of the Soviet capital went on:

"Troops can first of all be quartered in Red Army barracks. Since the use of private flats should be avoided, in addition to barracks, the troops can be placed in hotels, theatres, schools, exhibition halls, clubs and hostels of industrial enterprises. The numerous parks and stadiums could be used for stationing materiel. The core of the city—

the Kremlin—can be reached without any difficulty thanks to the widening of the main streets inside the city in recent years."

The overall conclusion was this:

"Moscow is not only the principal target of the offensive in Central Russia, but also one of the most important on the entire territory of Russia, in short, in all Eastern Europe." Only at the very end of this amazing sample of self-confidence and Prussian-nazi arrogance was there some indication of doubts. "Is Moscow the decisive objective of the war?", the compilers asked themselves. And answered the question thus:

"The occupation or destruction of Moscow would paralyze the military, political and economic administrative machine and destroy an important base of Soviet power. But that would not be the decisive success in the war. The principal enemy would remain—the vastness of the country's territory extending boundlessly eastward from Moscow."

Not the Soviet troops, mark you, but the "vastness of the territory!" Such, then, were the plans of the German General Staff. They speak for themselves so clearly that there is no point in going into the amendments introduced later (for instance, it is known that Hitler eventually decided that the troops were not to enter Moscow, which was simply to be "wiped off the face of the earth"). The important thing for us now is to note the blind certainty of victory over the Soviet Union that prevailed not only in Hitler's immediate entourage, but also in the German military leadership in general, which, to believe the apologists of the Wehrmacht, knew and understood far more than that "upstart" Hitler.

Timetable of War

How long was Operation Barbarossa expected to take? Let us consult authentic sources:

Hitler (August 31, 1940)—5 months.

Chief of the logistical service of the land forces (at the same time)—4-5 months.

The General Staff (July 1940)—9 to 17 weeks.

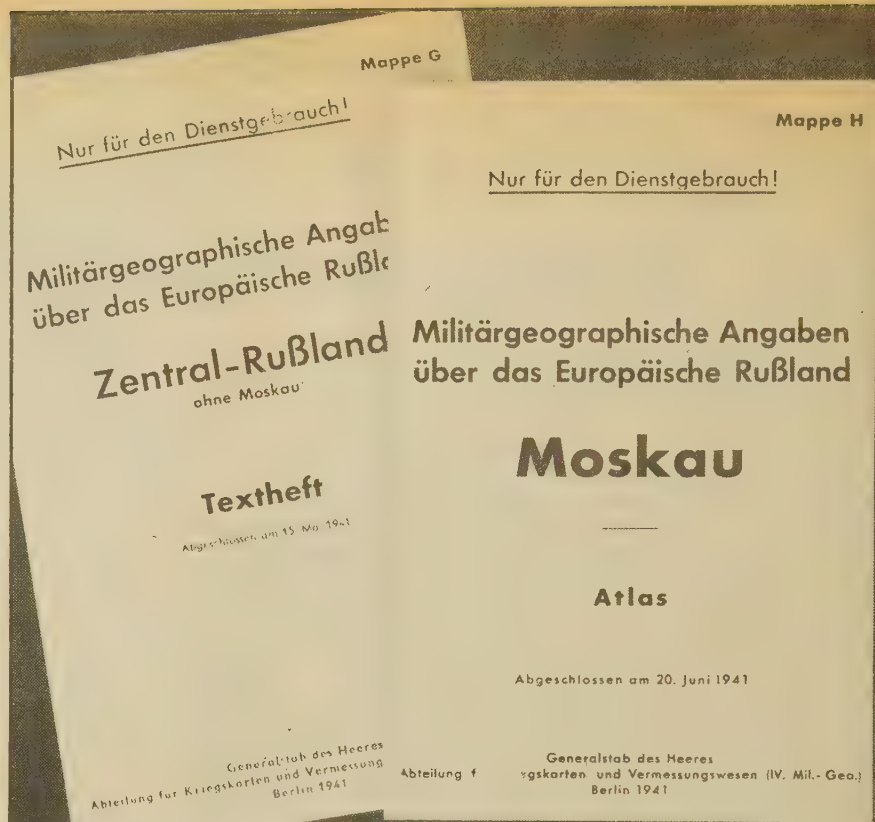
The General Staff (September 1940)—up to 16 weeks.

The General Staff (September 1940)—8 to 10 weeks.

Himmler (June 18, 1941)—6 weeks.

Ribbentrop (June 21, 1941)—8 weeks.

Thus, the expected duration of the war steadily diminished even before it had begun. When the invasion actually started, Hitler, on June 29, 1941, told his suite that "in four weeks we will be in Moscow and it will be razed to the ground." In any case, August 1941 was considered the month when the Wehrmacht divisions would report the capture of the Soviet capital. Him-



Files G and H. Hitler's war planners were sure they had thought of everything.

mler said that would happen on August 4, and Halder, on August 25. Finally, Hitler himself told former German ambassador to Moscow von Schulenburg that Moscow would be taken on August 15, and the whole war in the East would be over by October 1.

Of course, this was a case of counting the chickens before they were hatched, as the nazi generals were soon to discover for themselves. But let those dates be an eternal testimony to the political and military blindness of those who planned—and are still planning campaigns against the Soviet Union.

Another Aspect of the Blitzkrieg

There is one episode in the history of the weeks preceding the nazi invasion of the Soviet Union that continues to intrigue historians. The codeword "Dortmund" was conveyed to the armed forces on June 20, more than a month after the Fuehrer's deputy Rudolf Hess had come down in Britain by parachute on May 10. The story that he was "mentally unbalanced" was discarded long ago, and few believe the version that he did it on his own initiative. All the evidence suggests something entirely different.

As well-informed a man as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Ernst von Weizsäcker made this notable entry in his diary on May 19, 1941:

"The Hess affair is so peculiar that I

should like to record what I know about it. I always had the impression that the Fuehrer would have readily agreed to a compromise with Britain on approximately the following terms: the British empire would remain, but on the continent the British would have nothing to do.... It was to this end that he attempted—for the second time, it is said—to end by his personal action the war between 'two white nations.'"

It has now been definitely established that Hess on behalf of Hitler offered Britain an anti-Soviet compact. I myself had occasion to hear an account of this from two persons whose knowledge of the affair is beyond question. One was Fritz Hesse, a former subordinate of Ribbentrop and an expert on Britain. Immediately after Rudolf Hess's flight to Britain he was questioned by Himmler and Ribbentrop, both of whom were primarily interested in what chances Hess had of contacting the British leaders. My other informant was former SS Obergruppenfuehrer Karl Wolff, who said that in a talk with him on the night of April 17, 1945, Hitler had admitted that Hess had been carrying out his instructions. What were these instructions? To persuade Britain to conclude "peace" with Germany and take joint action against the Soviet Union. This prospect was seriously discussed in the Imperial Chancellery. This is how Weizsäcker outlined the "compromise" plan (read: conspiracy) in his diary entry for June 2:

"So long as there is a serious war going on against Russia, the idea of a compromise with Britain will naturally have to be pigeonholed. But as soon as the military operation is over—and military leaders expect it to end in 4-8 and at the most 10 weeks—hopes will rise in Britain for a compact.... If Germany retains a free hand in the East and casts off the ballast in the West, why not come to terms with it!"

On the very eve of the invasion of the Soviet Union Weizsäcker wrote:

"I think that after Germany has turned to the East, roughly in September there will be a greater readiness in the West for peace.... In this way victory in the East would be the signal for a compact with the West.... It is always necessary to set oneself a new goal. Important in these designs are our relations with the U.S.A."

Such, then, was the far-reaching military-political plan of the Nazi leadership, and Weizsäcker was not the only one to consider it. In September 1941 the Foreign Minister himself confided to Weizsäcker his hopes that it would be possible "to win over the British Conservative group anxious for peace." And Hitler at the end of July said in an intimate circle:

"I am certain that the end of the war will mark the beginning of a long friendship with Britain. The guarantee that we shall leave it in peace will be the knockout blow we will deliver it. For the British respect those who knock them out."

This was the rather curious view, to put it mildly, of the future "friendship" with Britain. On September 28, four days before the beginning of the Nazi offensive on Moscow (Operation Typhoon), Weizsäcker noted that "Hitler is gambling on the hope that Russia will collapse," and that "if there is a Russian collapse depression will set in in Britain. Churchill will be replaced by Hoare and we shall make peace."

It must be said that Berlin was by no means indulging in idle fantasies. The diehard Munichman Sir Samuel Hoare had the reputation among the British Tories of being a British Quisling. It was also known in Berlin that the British General Staff predicted the early defeat of the Red Army. It was for such an eventuality that Hess was kept in reserve. In June he had officially handed Churchill the plan of a compact but had received no answer, after which a new emissary was sent to him—Lord Beaverbrook. Hess, according to Beaverbrook himself, handed him a "long memorandum" proposing that Britain support Germany against Russia.

As regards the United States, it was no secret to the German politicians that isolationism was rampant there and the America First Committee was calling for an alliance with Hitler. It was not by chance that Goebbels wrote in his diary on September 5, 1941:

"In the U.S. we have a number of useful allies who will not allow themselves to be persuaded that black is white, but who stand on the alert, ready at any moment to stab Roosevelt in the back."

All this must be borne in mind in assessing the historic magnitude of the unparalleled feat of the Soviet people who in 1941 withstood the Nazi blitzkrieg singlehanded. How confident the German politicians were not only of defeating the Soviet Union before the onset of winter but also of making a deal with Britain and the United States on dividing the world into spheres of influence! But this design too was frustrated by our exploit.

Expedition to the Urals

We usually associate the word "expedition" with geographical or ethnographic studies. For the Nazi generals

it meant something else. They applied the term to the operation the Wehrmacht was to undertake after the capture of Moscow.

The operation was conceived well in advance. Some time before the war began, Hitler told Fieldmarshal von Bock, whose troops were supposed to take Moscow: "If the capture of Moscow and Leningrad does not lead to peace, we must break through, at least with mobile units, to Yekaterinburg" (Hitler had an aversion to Soviet place names, he often called Leningrad St. Petersburg and for Sverdlovsk he used the pre-revolutionary name). Hence, when in July 1941 the German General Staff considered that the war had been won, he decided to send troops to the Urals as well, not for permanent occupation but rather as an expeditionary force. On July 27, 1941, a relevant document was drawn up which opened thus:

"1. The operation will be carried out by motorized forces consisting of 8 armoured and 4 motorized infantry divisions, with separate infantry divisions being brought in—depending on the situation—to protect rear communications.

"2. The operation will be a broadly conceived motorized expedition through roadless terrain difficult of access. Therefore for the performance of this task it is essential to thoroughly check the organizational structure of the armoured corps and to dispense with everything that could lessen their strike power: possibly by reducing the number of motor vehicles. Combat operations will by and large proceed along railway lines and highways."

These "organizational" directives were followed by instructions of an operational character—after all, the expedition was to cover a vast area from Gorky, Kazan, Ulyanovsk and Kuibyshev to Nizhni Tagil, Sverdlovsk and Magnitogorsk. Then came further directives:

1941. The blitzkrieg's petered out on the approaches to Moscow.



"The element of surprise is desirable in carrying out the operation: all four groups will go into action simultaneously in order to reach the industrial area with utmost speed and then, depending on the situation, either hold the lines reached or withdraw from them after first destroying all vital installations, using specially trained army units for this purpose. The object is to make possible sudden and swift advance on separate sectors provided the Russians have not by that time caused extensive damage to railway lines east of the Volga."

The General Staff again was not particularly worried about the Russian winter. The document continued:

"3. The specific features of the theatre of hostilities require thorough attention in winter to the following: a) reconnaissance of roads; b) choice of the most auspicious time for operations from the standpoint of climatic conditions; c) study of the terrain and possible obstacles; d) organizational and transport preparation of operations; e) setting up of a sufficient number of bridgehead fortifications at bridges over the Volga. If these should be destroyed, their repair and readying for use by troops; f) preparation of special operations for the capture of the most important installations on railways."

True, the directive of July 27 contained no details concerning the possible rendezvous with Japanese troops, although it was precisely at this time (July-August 1941) that vigorous efforts were being made in Berlin to ensure Japan's entry into the war. At this time Hitler said that the Urals would become "a new frontier" of the Reich, and in a talk with the Japanese ambassador Oshima he declared that German domination would extend east of the Urals as well. Later the demarcation line between the spheres of influence of Germany and Japan was established at 70° east longitude.

Plan East

It might have been assumed that the purpose of the expedition to the Urals was the seizure of the industrial enterprises moved there from the central areas of Russia or the capture of the natural wealth of the region. The latter is quite plausible, but the former was excluded since, as we know from File H, the nazis believed the evacuation of Soviet industries from west to east was impossible. However, a special role was allotted the Urals in the sinister designs of German imperialism.

The point is that while the generals were planning for the "post-Barbarossa period," the top men of the SS were

busy working out their own plans. On July 15, 1941, the first variant of what was called General Plan East, drawn up by the chief of the planning staff of the SS, was submitted to nazi security chief Heinrich Himmler, and the next day Hitler convened a conference to discuss the future of the conquered "eastern territories." What was in question?

The war waged by Hitler Germany against the Soviet Union pursued very specific ends. The prime aim was to destroy the world's first socialist state. "Bolshevism is world enemy No. 1," Goebbels cited Hitler as saying in one of his diary entries. After Hitler had conferred with his top military leaders on March 30, 1941, Halder recorded this directive: "Struggle between two ideologies ... struggle against Russia; destruction of Bolshevik commissars and the Communist intelligentsia." The General Staff accordingly issued orders to the troops "to give effect to the tasks of the ideological struggle in the course of the Eastern campaign."

The second aim of the Barbarossa plan was to turn our country into a colony. "Russia will be our India," Hitler had said on more than one occasion to his associates. The Soviet population was to be-

come a mass of slaves. (Hitler: "They must not be allowed to form a new intelligentsia" or "It is enough for them to be able to read road signs.") Moreover, the SS had worked out a programme for the biological extermination of the Slavs through compulsory sterilization and denial of medical aid. "The aim is to wipe out the Russians as a nation, to fragment them," a document drawn up in 1942 at the Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories frankly declared. "For us Germans it is important to weaken the Russian people to a point where they will no longer be able to prevent us from establishing German domination in Europe."

This programme, which reads like the ravings of a maniac, was the avowed purpose of the above-mentioned General Plan East. A chain of German military settlements was to be set up on the occupied territories.

"Everything outside of these," Hitler said, "is the other world in which the Russians will live as they please. On one condition: that we rule over them."

Everything in the Plan East was ticketed and docketed: the captured territories were to be settled by Ger-

Hitler's plan for the administration of the "occupied Eastern territories" was already drawn up in May 1941.



mans; 1.5 million people would colonize areas captured up to the end of 1941, 3.3 million, areas captured after 1941. The sum of 45 billion reichsmarks was earmarked for the purpose. At the same time at least 31 million and perhaps 46-51 million people were to be "evicted" from the occupied territories. Do not be misled by the word "evicted"—it was the term customarily used by the nazis to denote the extermination of people. Moreover, the figure was to be increased subsequently—there was talk of 30-50 million even before the Wehrmacht had reached the Volga.

The monstrous plan for the "removal" of Soviet people was backed up by concrete organizational measures. As Hitler's minister Albert Speer admitted, Himmler had devised a parallel plan for the establishment of a colossal system of death camps. It provided for the formation of "construction teams" from among concentration camp inmates (each of which was to consist of 4,800 persons, 14 million to 29 million in all). These teams were to build German settlements as well as concentration camps where their compatriots were subsequently to be exterminated.

Everything was thoroughly thought out. The annihilation of European Jews (Wannsee plan) was to be completed in Poland and Byelorussia. Following this, the surviving population of Byelorussia, the Ukraine, and the Russian Federation were to be transported to the Urals and Western Siberia. The Poles were to be exterminated there too. In view of this, the admission made during the Nuremberg trial by an SS man that thirty million Slavs were to be wiped out clearly related only to the initial stage in the realization of the monstrous plan of genocide conceived by German imperialism.

March Through Russia

In the summer of 1941 the nazi leaders already saw themselves not only in Moscow and in the Urals and the German industrialists visualized themselves not only as the masters of the incalculable natural wealth of the Soviet Union. The Wehrmacht successes in the war against our country were seen by them as stepping stones to world dominion.

The Middle East, for instance, had long drawn the attention of German imperialism. Hence, simultaneously with preparations for the Barbarossa plan, the nazi General Staff was working on a design according to which the nazi armies, after crossing the Caucasus and pushing through Iran and Iraq, were to link up with the German forces



Tens of millions of Soviet citizens of all ages were to be annihilated in concentration camps.

advancing from the Suez Canal area. Subsequently, India and Afghanistan were to be the targets, as was envisaged in memorandums drawn up on April 7 and June 18, 1941. On July 3, 1941, Halder decided that the time had come to start practical preparations for this new operation. Four infantry, three Alpine infantry, two armoured and two motorized divisions were assigned for the thrust into Iran. Another army group was to advance through Turkey.

Operation Barbarossa was seen as the starting point for the conquest of colonies in Africa. "Can we, after having seized Russia, confine ourselves to Europe, or should we not, out of considerations of prestige, demand the return of the former German colonies?" an official of the Colonial Administration Department asked in a report to the head of the department. The answer was unambiguous: the colonies were needed. A plan was drawn up for the return of the old possessions and the seizure of new territories in East, Central and West Africa (ten colonies in all) and for the establishment of 21 naval bases on the African continent. One can fully agree with Professor Klaus Hildebrandt (F.R.G.) that "the march to Africa and to the conquest of the status of a world power was to pass through Russia. But it was prematurely cut short already in the winter of 1941."

And what about Europe? Here far-reaching plans were to be carried out only after victory in the East: Switzerland was to be seized, Spain and Portugal occupied, Britain turned either into a "junior partner" or a German possession under a governor-general, and the rest of Europe cut up into Ger-

man dependencies or semi-dependencies. Further, only after the success of the blitzkrieg in the East could the plans for the penetration of the Western Hemisphere be carried out—the plans of which President Roosevelt spoke with anxiety over the radio on October 27, 1941. Now it is known from once secret archive documents that Hitler seriously contemplated an, onslaught on the world positions of the U.S. But he knew that for the time being he had to wait: "So long as operations are under way in the East, we shall not allow ourselves to be provoked. Later the Americans can have their war if they want it so badly."

* * *

On June 15, 1941, Goebbels made the following entry in his diary:

"Just as we once destroyed Bolshevism in our own country, so must we, by means of our armed forces, destroy it in the Soviet Union in the interests of Europe. The day will come when we will see its historical collapse."

A historical collapse did come, but it was the collapse of Hitlerism which had cynically sought to cover up its designs by claiming to speak for Europe. On this 45th anniversary of the beginning of the nazi invasion let us face the truth squarely: there are still those who swear by the "interests of Europe." There still are politicians who pin their hopes on the "historical collapse" of communism. Let the outcome of the Hitlerite campaign serve as a stern lesson for all those who still count on the success of the criminal idea of social revanche.

Support and Solidarity

"I should like to share my thoughts on what happened at Chernobyl," are the opening words of many letters we received after the accident. Readers in various countries have taken our misfortune to heart; they send their sympathy, offer help, speak highly of the measures taken by the Soviet government to protect the health of those who found themselves in the danger zone, and reflect on the horrible threat posed by atomic weapons.

A CHILD SAW THE TRUTH

May I tell you a story which has directly to do with Chernobyl and with the way this disaster was covered by our much-vaunted "free press"? My 13-year-old brother proved to be the only child in his school able to enlighten his classmates, who merely reiterated the official version of the accident hammered into them by our newspapers and television. We adults did not "indoctrinate" the boy. He compared on his own, to the best of his ability, all he had seen and read with what he had heard from us (all the members of our family being regular readers of your magazine), and drew the right conclusions. A question arises: if a mere child has proved able to size up the situation correctly, what prevents many adults from doing so? Some of my compatriots, fooled by misinformation force-fed to them by the official press, and succumbing to the hysterical campaign fomented in connection with the Chernobyl accident, started hoarding provisions in a hurry. It is a shame and a disgrace that adults with a great deal of experience of life fail to see the real danger emanating from those who are pushing us towards the nuclear precipice.

I take this opportunity to extend my sympathy to those affected by the accident. I have no doubt that the Soviet Union will do everything pos-

sible to remedy its consequences.

Raffaella DE SIMONE
Varese, Italy

WHY?

The governments of some West European countries have suspended their purchases of farm products from European socialist countries on the grounds of their "radioactive contamination." (These "arguments" were given a suitable rebuff by New Times' Sergei Golyakov in "Taking Up a Point," issue 21, 1986) If West European leaders are so alarmed by what happened in Chernobyl, why don't they see the mortal danger of the nuclear and chemical weapons the United States is stuffing their countries with? Don't they realize that it is not to defend Western Europe that Washington is bringing over modern weapons? All it wants is to gain military superiority for itself, even at the cost of the security and survival of the West European nations?

Klavdiya BOIKOVA
Kamyshin, U.S.S.R.

FROM THE HEART

The vigour with which the Soviet authorities have got down to coping with the consequences of the tragic accident has made a profound impression on me. It would seem that no effort is being spared.

Notably, helping people and taking care of their health were the first priorities. I hear that those resettled away from the danger zone have been given cordial welcomes; this cannot be in response to a decree; it comes from the heart. I have also learned of the flood of donations to aid those affected. Isn't this evidence enough that kindness and compassion are characteristic of your people?

John BROWN
Toronto, Canada

SHORT MEMORY

The Americans hastened to pronounce 2,000 dead in the Ukraine. This was a lie, as is always the case when their subject is the Soviet Union. Examples abound: just recall the story about the KGB's attempt on the life of the Pope, which turned out to be a complete fabrication. U.S. authorities would seem to believe that people have short memories and that the world has forgotten about the accident at Union Carbide's Bhopal plant which took thousands of lives. Or the awful fire at an atomic power station in Britain which the English took their time about admitting. And what about the Seveso disaster in Italy?

No one is guaranteed against accidents. The Challenger shuttle, presented to us as the latest in American space technology and said to be ten years ahead of any Soviet spacecraft, exploded, as did two more rockets the Americans intended to launch into space. As for Soviet rockets and satellites, they still go up and orbit the earth as ever. It takes a considerable nerve to imply that catastrophes and disasters can happen only in the Soviet Union!

Allow me, in conclusion, to bow my head, once again, in mourning for the victims of the Chernobyl accident.

Charles ZAMBELLI
Nice, France

THE WORLD'S WOMEN OFFER THEIR SYMPATHY, VOICE THEIR INDIGNATION, AND WARN

What happened at the Chernobyl atomic power plant came as a bad shock to us. We wish to extend our profound sympathy to all Soviet people, and we admire the enormous effort being made to deal with the consequences of the accident.

We shall do our utmost to ensure that people in Finland get authentic information about Chernobyl. The use of your misfortune by the West for anti-Soviet propaganda purposes is contrary to common decency and honesty.

Olli MARTIMO
Secretary-General
Democratic League
of Finnish Women

* * *

We are ashamed and angry at the attitude of the British government towards the tragedy, the lies told, the misrepresentations and attempts to stir up more anti-Soviet feeling.

We send our support and solidarity and can assure you that we will increase our efforts to rid our planet of all nuclear weapons.

Elsie WATSON,
General Secretary,
National Assembly of Women.
Britain

* * *

The Chernobyl accident is a warning of possible danger to come. We all know what a nuclear war would mean to mankind. There is greater need now than ever for our cooperation and mutual understanding, for our joint effort to achieve the banning of nuclear tests, control over nuclear energy, disarmament and the immediate implementation of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals.

The Board,
Greek Women's Union

Warsaw Revisited

LEONID POCHIVALOV

For me Warsaw began in Moscow when I stepped on board the blue Polonez Express at the Byelorussian railway station. In the carriage I was met by an elegant blue-uniformed conductor. Dredging my memory for my long-unused, half-forgotten Polish vocabulary I said a few words to the conductor and elicited the polite response: "Oh, you speak Polish!"

The compartment next to mine turned out to be occupied by a young couple, Malgorzata and Michal, both students studying in Moscow. They were on their way home for the holidays. "Are you satisfied with your studies in Moscow?" I asked them. "Oh yes, very satisfied!" they said.

The frontier station of Brest. After a change of carriage trucks, we roll out of the yards along tracks of a different gauge. Another 20 kilometres or so and the landscape undergoes a striking change. The villages and country towns that had flashed past the carriage windows have separated into isolated farm houses half hidden by willows, each house with its own allotment set apart from its neighbours by clearly demarcated boundaries which betoken private landownership.

The carriage wheels click off the kilometres as evenly as they did on our side of the frontier. But was it really the same rhythm that they beat? I could not but think how similarity can sometimes deceive one into applying one's own yardsticks to others. Each has his own yardsticks in life.

The object of my visit to Warsaw was to attend an international congress of cultural and scientific workers in defence of a peaceful future for the world. The delegations were quartered in the Victoria Hotel. All the auxiliary services of the congress were also centred here. The service personnel were all young, invariably polite and smartly dressed, the young men tall and handsome and the young women, charming. This was Poland, which pays much more attention to externals than we do at home. The service in the dining room was excellent, and the ordinary entrecote, which was rather on the tough side, was put before you with a flourish worthy of some exotic culinary masterpiece. The doorman at the entrance looked like a fieldmarshal who had just routed a hostile army. Changing yet unchanging Poland.

I recognized it and rejoiced in it. I once spent three years in Poland as the first permanent correspondent of the Komsomolskaya Pravda. I was young then and brimming with hope and optimism. And the situation in the Poland of the early fifties was consonant with my mood. I saw around me a people inspired by hope and confident in their strength. And my sympathy and faith in them were reinforced. When I left home for Warsaw, my father, a civil war veteran, had told me:

"In the past all kinds of things happened in the relations between Russia and Poland, but, bear in mind, our peoples have much in common. You should treat the Poles with great respect. They were one of the European peoples who were ready to die to the last man rather than submit to the nazis."

In those years a miracle was being performed beyond the Bug. Poland suffered cruelly from the war. Especially Warsaw. When I first arrived there it seemed to me there was no Polish capital—it had all been reduced to ruins. But when I left the city to return home I drove to the airport through newly-built thoroughfares. They seemed to have been conjured into being by the wave of a magic wand. Like all the other socialist countries, Poland grew stronger, developed, but its way to the future was not destined to be a smooth one. The events that have taken place in this country bear the imprint of its past, of its traditions, the psychology of the masses, the presence of a sizeable stratum of petty bourgeoisie, the influence of the Catholic Church, and the internal counterrevolution which lay low for a time and which refused to reconcile itself to the building of socialism in Poland.

All sorts of things happened. I remember how at the end of the fifties I had occasion to visit a village in the Bialystok Province. On the outskirts of the village our car was stopped by armed peasants. It turned out that they had taken us for representatives of the local authorities. At that time village cooperatives formed earlier were being disbanded, often with the participation of the local authorities. The private proprietor was again coming to the fore. But in this particular poverty-

stricken village the peasants were all for the cooperative, which had helped them to get on their feet and given them confidence in themselves. Now they came to the outskirts of the village to defend their collective labour from—paradoxically—the local representatives of the socialist state

Yes, all sorts of things happened. At the beginning of the eighties we all followed developments in Poland with anxiety. We had of course never been indifferent to the fate of that country. And we rejoiced when reports began coming in about factories being restarted and the life of the country gradually returning to normal.

What is the situation now? What is the prevalent mood in the country?

* * *

We went to a concert at the National Philharmonic. On the programme were Chopin, Tadeusz Baird and Wojciech Kilar—classical and avant-garde music side by side. The conductor was Witold Rowicki. During an intermission I went up to Tikhon Khrennikov, the Soviet composer, who was also there. "How did you like it?" I asked. "Very much indeed," he replied. "The concert was interesting, the orchestra excellent, and the conductor brilliant." Back at the hotel in the evening I met the Soviet

Ancient Krakow is renowned not only for its architectural masterpieces of past centuries but also for its modern electronic computers. The workers and engineers at the Mera-KFAP plant contribute to the progress of Poland's electronic industry.

TASS photo



stage director Evgeny Simonov, who happens to be my neighbour in Moscow. He had just met one of Warsaw's theatre companies. "They have rather interesting ideas," Simonov said. Would this not give the lie to the Western propaganda contention that the people of Warsaw have withdrawn within the four walls of their homes and are no longer interested in art?

As I took the lift up to my room, I remembered I had been told to give the lift attendant a couple of hundred zloty. Not as a tip, but as a sort of bonus. The services of cloakrooms in theatres, hotels and restaurants also have to be paid for. Pocketing the zloty I gave him, the lift attendant pursed his lips and said: "Couldn't you give me a dollar?" I already knew that dollars were preferred to zloty. There are shops and stands that sell things only for hard currency. The more well-to-do section of the population has dollar accounts in banks.

A sign on the telephone table in my room warns: calls abroad have to be paid for in freely convertible currency—something I had not seen here before.

I switch on the radio. Warsaw is broadcasting a musical programme.

I have always thought highly of Polish radio broadcasts. The programmes are compiled with taste, tact, good sense. The morning broadcasts carry melodies specially suited for that time of the day—something to give the listener a charge of vigour to start the day with.

There are also special night programmes, which are very popular. They go on all night long. "If you cannot sleep, if you are not well, if you feel lost and despairing, call us up at such-and-such telephone number," the announcement goes. "Let us talk it over, perhaps we can think of something together." And people phone in. Far from always is it possible to help, but there are cases when the nocturnal conversation between two strangers—one in need of help and the other ready to give it—prevents someone from taking the fatal step.

I remember Malgorzata whom I met in the train. And what she said about this being a time that calls for consideration for the individual, his thoughts, hopes and sentiments.

It probably was not by chance that young Malgorzata confided in me that she preferred Kafka to Hemingway. I saw a popular Polish film, "The Woman from the Provinces." Poland's creative artists possess a vast potential of skill and talent. This picture too is excellently done. But it does not inspire people like Malgorzata to break out of the confines of their own tiny private world; its main idea is that whatever the vicissitudes of social life, it is this private world that must above all

be protected. For that, the film says, is happiness.

The editors of the newspaper *Kultura* invited me to acquaint myself with the theatrical life of the capital and assigned as my guide a staff member, the pleasant, sociable young lady Renata Goscinska. She took me to the National Opera and Ballet Theatre for a performance of Bizet's opera, "The Pearl Fishers." "There is nowhere else to go," she complained. "Our cultural life is going through troubled times. Things are not so bad as regards music. There are concerts, contests, and new opera productions. But the drama is ailing, no few actors have emigrated or turned away from art, and there are no new good plays." "How soon do you think the theatre will revive?" I asked. "It is difficult to say," she shrugged. "It's not all that simple."

* * *

I read an article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski in the weekly *Polityka*. "Figuratively speaking," he wrote, "something of a gaming house mood is to be observed in Poland: after dealing the cards we wait with a feeling of uncertainty for a run of good luck, for a good hand, the ace that would put an end to the adverse phase in our life. But what if nothing comes of it again? A wait-and-see attitude prevails in our society."

I did not know who Stanislaw Kwiatkowski was, but I assumed he could not be classified among the optimists. When I was advised to see him, I was certain that the meeting would not improve my own mood.

Kwiatkowski heads a sociological research centre. The only thing which is stiff and official about him is his army officer's uniform. He is at home with figures, but he struck me as anything but a cut-and-dried statistics hound. He is interested in the problems of the youth and the general political situation in the country not as a statistician, but as a public figure. Moreover, he is an optimist. Having seen him one can hardly associate him with the article in *Polityka*.

Kwiatkowski cited figures gleaned by his sociologists and drew some conclusions from them.

"It is not true that a person belonging to *Solidarnosc* is necessarily an opponent of the socialist state," he said. "In questionnaires one in every four who admit having belonged to *Solidarnosc* in its early period is a member of the Polish United Workers' Party. Many in that early period assumed that *Solidarnosc* would pursue a constructive course and help jointly to eliminate the consequences of the serious blunders made in the organization of the economy. The reactionaries, however, had their own plans on this score."

Scanning through the latest newspapers I found in practically everyone of them something about the activities of the counterrevolutionaries. In Torun the trial had ended of a group of individuals charged with subversive activity on television. They managed to get on the air by using special devices and transmitted anti-government slogans over the local television station. In Gdansk distributors of subversive literature had been arrested, and so on. Imperialist agents are actively at work: some Western correspondents accredited to Warsaw have joined in this subversive activity.

* * *

Ryszard Badowski is an old friend of mine. He graduated at the Moscow University school of journalism and worked as a correspondent in Moscow. Now he runs a travel programme on Polish television. He is very popular in Poland. He has been to many parts of the world and has done much to popularize Poles who have associated their future with Russia and the Soviet Union. Some years ago Badowski was in the Antarctic and now has the idea of organizing the first-ever flight across the polar continent with visits to the bases there of countries engaged in the exploration of the Antarctic. The flight is conceived as a Polish contribution to the strengthening of international trust. "I don't know whether it will work out, but I shall do my best!" Badowski said.

Socialist Poland has always played a notable role on the international arena in many spheres—politics, science, culture, sports. Now its former high prestige is being restored to it, the prestige of a country whose opinion cannot be ignored.

Learning that I was in Warsaw, Wanda Rutkiewicz called me up late one night at my hotel. She regretted that there was no time to meet, for she was to leave the next morning for training in the Alps. She was getting ready to scale the world's second highest peak in order to plant the Polish flag there. Some five years before, after having met Wanda in Warsaw, I had written a feature article about her. She was already famous as the third woman in the world and the first in Europe to climb Mount Everest. Much has changed in Poland since then. Primarily its people, some beyond recognition. Even those seemingly remote from politics have been caught up in political events. Wanda Rutkiewicz's renown was capitalized on by the leaders of the opposition. She was received by Pope John Paul II to whom she presented a stone from the summit of Everest. She left Poland for the West and settled there for a time, but soon became so homesick that she returned to Poland. "How are you getting along?"



Warsaw's Central Railway Station at night.

I asked. She replied in somewhat faltering but perfectly understandable Russian, which, incidentally, is spoken by many intellectuals in Poland. She was getting along passably, she said. How was her health, I asked. "Fine!" she said. "I'm in good repair." (During her last trip to the U.S.S.R. she suffered a serious injury in the mountains—a common enough occurrence with mountain climbers.) "I have warm memories of your people, their kindness and the care they accorded me in those difficult days," she said. "I would like to visit your country again."

* * *

I was invited to visit a school on Nowy Swiat Street, where Russian is taught according to an advanced programme. I chatted in Russian with a group of senior pupils. I asked them what they thought about the present situation in their country. "We all have our opinions on the subject," was the answer. But when I asked them whether they would like to leave Poland and live in some other country, they all said they did not want to leave Poland. Why had they taken up Russian? "For no special reason. This school happens to be not far from where I live," one of them answered. Another said confidently: "I study Russian because I'm interested in knowing what is going on beyond our eastern frontier." A third student said: "I want to go to Moscow to study."

Those of the group who had asked me the most questions offered to see me off. On the way we had an interesting conversation. The youngsters recalled the days when Poland was swept by demonstrations, strikes, and riots. Many at the time believed that Solidarnosc would lead them in the struggle for renewal. "I did not join Solidarnosc," one said. "I didn't believe in it. It was all a lot of shouting. Nothing

serious." "Young people in our country are not all of the same opinion," another said. "Young workers think in one way, young peasants in another, and students are altogether different. The most critical attitude to the state is to be found among the students, but here too there are sober-minded people and their number is steadily growing. Young people like to rebel, often without knowing why. That's how it has always been in our country." "What is to be done?" I asked. The answer they gave me was this: "The state is in a difficult economic position. Poland has enormous debts. And they must be paid. To pay them it is necessary to work harder and more efficiently, with a will. It is up to us to continue building our socialist Poland."

During my stay in Warsaw I spoke with many people about the situation in the country—with a trolleybus driver and a wellknown writer, a bishop and a veteran Communist, who had fought the fascists in Spain, a university student and a watchman at the Lazienki Park. They voiced different opinions, but most agreed that changes for the better could be brought about only by the Polish United Workers' Party. The PUWP is the force capable of finding the ways and means of overcoming the difficulties. Hence the great hopes that are attached to the coming 10th Congress of the PUWP, which many Poles believe will be a major event in the life of the country. None of those I spoke with denied that there were difficulties—imbalances in the internal structure of the economy, rising prices, the heavy burden of foreign indebtedness, the rigid economic sanctions imposed by capitalist countries, the subversive activities of the counterrevolutionaries, apathy and inertia among a certain section of the population.

The complex situation notwithstanding,

the Party has sought and found ways towards overcoming the crisis. All those I spoke with, even those whose attitude to the authorities was negative, agreed that the past three years have seen a marked livening of the economy. Food rationing has been abolished (except in the case of meat). I was told that when Solidarnosc was on the rampage there was nothing in the shops but bottles of vinegar. Now the shop shelves are increasingly filling up. Particularly brisk is trade in vegetables and fruit. The people welcome the appearance of increasing quantities of Polish-made manufactures. Industrial production is again on the upgrade.

The Poles have always been keenly interested in what is happening beyond their eastern frontier. Wherever I went I was invariably asked for the latest news from the Soviet Union, about the hopes and aspirations of the Soviet people. Needless to say, the Poles are greatly interested in changes for the better taking place in our country.

All honest-minded Poles deeply appreciate the fact that the Soviet Union was the first to come to the aid of Poland in its time of trial. It is clear to all that Soviet-Polish economic cooperation substantially benefits both countries. The long-term programme of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland up to the year 2000 provides a solid foundation for the further development of this joint effort. Particular interest was evinced by the people I talked with in the plans for the promotion of direct ties between Soviet and Polish industrial enterprises and the creation of joint enterprises, research institutes and designing offices.

Poland is now actively preparing for the coming Congress of the PUWP, for the country is faced with no few pressing problems.

Here in Moscow I hurry to the newsstand every morning to pick up the latest papers from Warsaw. Many of the articles, reports and interviews are extremely interesting. At times one comes across the most unexpected opinions. Discussions are underway on practically all aspects of the life of society, on how to put the economy on a sound footing, on the development of the principles of socialist democracy, on workers' self-management, on the need to vest new powers and rights in the people's councils. And in each case a wide variety of opinions is all voiced.

A variety of positive, constructive opinions is all to the good. One would like to believe that all that is realistic, rational, and consonant with the imperatives of our time will prevail in our neighbour Poland.

Kavindra, the God of Poets

Rabindranath Tagore

Rabindranath Tagore. There is hardly another individual in India's long history whose dedicated contribution to the development of his people's culture and art, in fact, to its entire spiritual life has been so great and multifaceted.

When the word outstanding is applied to Tagore, the 125th anniversary of whose birth is being celebrated worldwide this year, it sounds like an understatement. He was a great lyric poet (in India he is called "kavindra"—"God of poets"), a writer of realist prose and a dramatist.

The father of modern Indian literature, his creative endeavour facilitated the artistic and ideological renewal and cohesion of literature in all the languages of India.

Tagore is the author of about a thousand verses and almost two thousand songs, twelve novels, over a hundred stories and thirty plays. In them he sung the "divinity of life," the greatness of Man and of his deeds and labours, and the immortality of his spirit. His song "The Soul of the People" became the national anthem of the Republic of India, while another of his

songs, "Golden Bengal," is the national anthem of the Republic of Bangladesh. In 1913 he became the first cultural figure in the East to be awarded a Nobel Prize.

But Tagore was also an artist, composer, musician, actor and producer. He was a profoundly original philosopher and teacher. He prophetically predicted that Indians would cast off the foreign yoke and become masters of their destiny. Rabindranath Tagore was the conscience and voice of the people and expressed the interests of democratic sections of society.

Tagore's calls for peace and friendship among nations, his angry condemnation of war and aggression, colonialism, imperialism and fascism in all their forms and manifestations are fully relevant today when the world faces the threat of atomic catastrophe. In 1934, together with progressive writers from other countries, Tagore signed an appeal to the World Conference in Defence of Peace that was being held in Brussels. And one of the last poems by this great Indian can be considered as his testament: "Before bidding you farewell I appeal to all people in all parts of the world to fight the forces of barbarism."

Rabindranath Tagore visited the Soviet Union in September 1930. As a result of this trip he published his "Letters from Russia," a masterpiece of journalism which was banned by the colonial authorities and published in full only after India achieved independence.

Evgeny CHELYSHEV
Corresponding Member,
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

From "Letters from Russia"

In Russia at last! Whichever way I look, I am filled with wonder. It is unlike any other country. It is radically different. From top to bottom they are rousing everybody up without distinction.

It is astonishing to watch the extraordinary vigour with which education spreads throughout Russian society. The measure of education is not merely in numbers, but in its thoroughness; its intensity. Not in European Russia alone, but also among the semi-civilized races of Central Asia, they have opened the flood-gates of education.

What has pleased me most here is the complete disappearance of the vulgar conceit of wealth. For this reason alone the self-respect of the people has been restored; peasants and workers have all shaken off the load of disrespect and raised their head. How wonderfully easy has become man's relation with his fellows.

Here also the revolutionary appeal is universal. In the world of today, the people of this country at any rate are thinking of the interests of the whole of humanity, transcending all national interests.

The storm of civil war which they had to cross to reach the shores of the new age was fanned into fury by the secret and open help of England and America. The wastage of keeping in full trim the most unproductive part of the political machine, namely, the army, is indispensable to them, because all the capitalist



powers of today are their enemies and their armouries are full to overflowing.

I remember how the Soviets by their disarmament proposals startled the nations who professed love of peace. Because the Soviets do not aim at increasing power that is exclusively national—their task is to fulfil an ideal by building up as efficiently and widely as possible the education and health, the means and substance of the livelihood of the masses—their utmost need is undisturbed peace.

It was no easy task—their political dominion spreads over Europe and Asia. Even India does not contain as many races as they have. The contrasts of geographical and human characters are far greater among them than with us. Indeed, theirs is a complex problem of many different races, a miniature of the world problem complicated by a diversity of conditions.

Who could be more astonished than an unfortunate Indian like myself to see

how they had removed the mountain of ignorance and helplessness in these few years?

A young Caucasian woman said to the interpreter: "Tell the poet that the various races of the Soviet Union want to send through him their sincere good will to the people of India. I can tell him that, if it were possible, I would leave my hearth and home and children to go and help his countrymen."

When I was last in England I heard for the first time from an Englishman what wonderful things the Soviets were doing for people's welfare. I have now seen them for myself and I have also seen that in their state there is no difference whatsoever of race and colour.

I have come to Russia to acquaint myself with their system of education. All that I have seen amazed me.

The dumb have found their voice, the ignorant have cast the veil from their minds, the helpless have become conscious of their own power and those who were in the depths of degradation have come out of society's "black hole" to claim equality with everybody else. This is Soviet Russia's achievement in less than eight years' time.

It is difficult to imagine how swiftly a country with such an enormous population can change. One rejoices to see the waters of enlightening rushing into the parched channel. Initiative and creative endeavour are flourishing. The light of new hope illumines their way. Full-blooded life pulsates everywhere.

They are busy there with three things. Education, agriculture and machinery. Along these three roads, the whole nation pursues the task of giving ful-

ness of the mind, body and creative energy.

Before the Revolution of 1917, ninety per cent of the peasants had never seen a machine plough. In a trice, as it were, thousands of machine ploughs appeared on their fields.

But the machine alone is of little use unless the machinist himself becomes a man. The cultivation of the land advances with the cultivation of the mind in Russia. Here education is living.

* * *

My mind is filled with memories of Russia. The chief reason is that the other countries I have visited have never so wholly stirred my mind. Their manifold activities are confined within separate compartments; here politics, there hospitals, somewhere else are universities and museums: specialists are busy with them all. But there the whole country, intent on one purpose, has gathered up all the activities of the land in one

nervous system and assumed a giant body and a colossal personality.

In the countries where the pursuit of wealth and power is divided by individual self-interest, such close unity of mind is impossible. But it is the very essence of what is happening in Soviet Russia; there they are creating an extraordinary entity called common task, common mind and common property.

APPOINTMENTS

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

ANATOLY LEONIDOVICH ADAMISHIN

Anatoly Adamishin, Russian, was born on October 11, 1934, in Kiev. In 1957 he graduated from the Lomonosov State University in Moscow. Has been a member of the CPSU since 1965.

In 1957-59 Anatoly Adamishin worked as an assistant at the First European Department of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry. From 1959 to 1965 he held the posts successively of probationer, attaché, third secretary and second secretary of the U.S.S.R. embassy in Italy. From 1965 to 1971 he was second secretary, first secretary, counsellor and expert consultant of the First European Department of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry. From 1971 to 1973 he was senior and then chief counsellor at the Foreign Policy Planning Department of the Foreign



Ministry. In 1973-78 he was chief of the department for general international problems, and from 1978 to 1986 chief of the First European Department of the Foreign Ministry. He has been a member of the Collegium of the Ministry since 1979.

Anatoly Adamishin has been awarded two orders of the Red Banner of Labour, the orders of the Friendship of the Peoples and the Badge of Honour, as well as several medals.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

VLADIMIR FYODOROVICH PETROVSKY

Vladimir Petrovsky, Russian, was born on April 29, 1933, in Volgograd. In 1957 he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He has a doctor's degree in history and is a Candidate of Laws. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1963.

Between 1957 and 1961 he worked successively as assistant, translator and attaché at the Soviet United Nations Mission. In 1961 he was third secretary at the Department of International Organizations of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry, in 1961-64, second secretary at the Secretariat of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry. Between 1964 and 1971 he worked in the United Nations Secretariat. Between 1971 and 1979 he was senior counsellor, chief counsellor and then head of the



Foreign Policy Planning Department of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry. Between 1979 and 1986 he was chief of the Foreign Ministry's Department of International Organizations. Has been a member of the Collegium of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry since 1979.

Vladimir Petrovsky has been awarded the orders of the Red Banner of Labour and the Badge of Honour, as well as medals.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

ALEXANDER ALEXANDROVICH BESSMERTNYKH

Alexander Bessmertnykh, Russian, was born on November 10, 1933, in Biisk, Altai Territory. In 1957 he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He is a Candidate of Laws and has been a member of the CPSU since 1963.

After graduating from the Institute, Alexander Bessmertnykh worked as an assistant and then as attaché at the Press Department of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1960-66 he worked at the U.N. Secretariat in New York and in 1966-70 he was second secretary, and then first secretary at the Secretariat of the Foreign Minister. In 1970-77, he held the post of first secretary, counsellor, and



from 1977 to 1983, of counsellor-envoy at the U.S.S.R. embassy in the United States. In 1983-86 he was head of the United States Department of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry, and member of the Collegium of the Ministry.

Alexander Bessmertnykh has been awarded the orders of the Friendship of the Peoples and the Badge of Honour, and several medals.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

BORIS NIKOLAYEVICH CHAPLIN

Boris Chaplin, Russian, was born on September 8, 1931, in Moscow. In 1955 he graduated from the Moscow Mining Institute. He is a Candidate of Technical Sciences. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1961. At the 25th, 26th and 27th congresses of the CPSU he was elected alternate member of the CC CPSU.

Boris Chaplin began his working career in 1955 as a mine foreman and later as chief of a section of an open-cut coal mine in Kemerovo Region. From 1957 he held a scientific post at the Skochinsky Mining Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

From 1961 he was assistant secretary and later secretary of the Party Committee of the Moscow Mining Institute. From 1965 he worked as second



secretary of the Oktyabr and from 1968 first secretary of the Cheryomushki District committees of the CPSU in Moscow. Between 1974 and 1986 he was U.S.S.R. Ambassador to Vietnam.

Boris Chaplin has been decorated with the Order of the October Revolution, two orders of the Red Banner of Labour, the orders of the Friendship of the Peoples and the Badge of Honour, as well as a number of medals. He is a U.S.S.R. State Prize laureate.

Liechtenstein: Small Land of Big Surprises

VLADIMIR KUZNETSOV

A visitor coming to Vaduz on a Sunday is in for surprises from the moment he reaches the border: police wave down private cars and invite motorists and passengers to take route buses, which bring them to the capital. By way of compensation for the inconvenience, tourists are offered free rides in horse-drawn carriages in Vaduz. This is the outward sign of the environment protection campaign launched by Liechtenstein following a public petition "to give nature a reprieve from exhaust fumes" and walk on Sundays. Knowing this, I decided to take a route bus from the Swiss city of Buchs to Liechtenstein. The black and yellow red-striped bus took me across the whole country, 25 kilometres from south to north.

The bus crossed a bridge over the shallow Rhine (looking at that narrow strip of water, it is hard to believe that in 1929 the river burst its banks and flooded fields and vineyards, causing enormous damage and ruining many farmers) and, without stopping, drove on towards the capital. Blue-and-red enameled signs with the Liechtenstein coat of arms flew by on both sides—and that was all. No passport control or customs inspection on the border. That is another surprise for anyone visiting Vaduz for the first time. One more surprise comes from reference books: Liechtenstein with its population of 27,000 produces twice as much industrial output in per capita terms as does the F.R.G.

Like upended dominoes, the buildings of the Hilti engineering giant flew past the windows. The corporation, geared exclusively to foreign markets, was launched with 91 workers forty-odd years ago. Today Professor Martin Hilti, head of the corporation, proudly says that he has about 10,000 engineers and workers, of these five times as many work in other countries as in Liechtenstein. Hilti's subsidiaries sell their products in Britain, the F.R.G. and the Middle East.

The principality with its area of

157 square kilometres is the home of a variety of industries, which turn out sophisticated computerized machine-tools, rare optical instruments, false teeth and bridges, and spares for airport radars (the country, incidentally, has no airport). Liechtenstein, once the rustic backyard of Switzerland and Austria, has in the past 60 years become a "workshop" that sells its services to nearly 90 countries in different parts of the world.

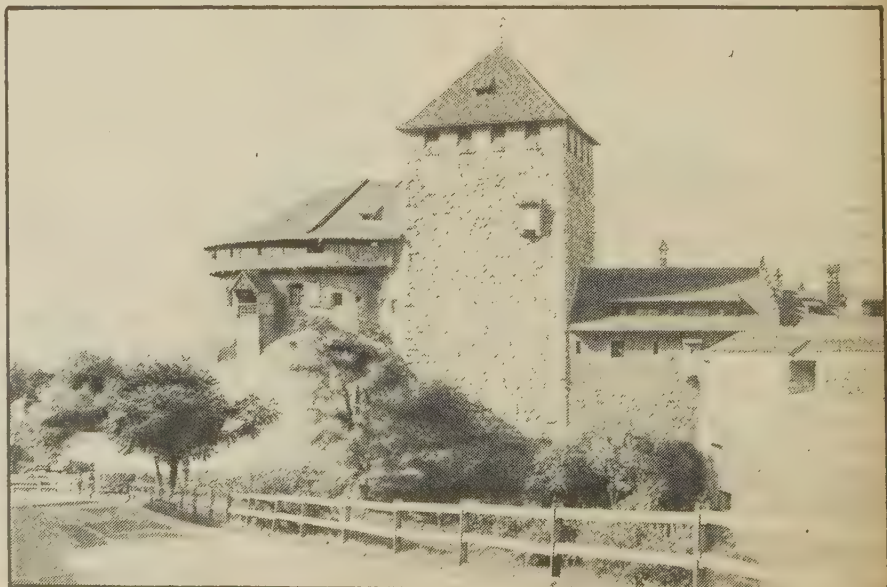
Dozens of tourist coaches are parked by the post office on Städtle Street in the centre of Vaduz, across from the history museum, which in past centuries housed government offices and (as mores were simple then) a jail for wrong-doers in the basement. One attraction of the museum is a collection of coins which were minted by the principality till 1924, when its parliament approved the decision to join the Swiss franc zone and to use the franc as the national currency. An arch next to the museum leads into the picture gallery, which takes pride in its Ru-



benses. A museum of postage stamps stands on the left of the gallery. Liechtenstein stamps, issued in small printings, are highly valued by collectors and bring 10 per cent of state revenue. In the new post office my eye was caught by a stamp with a portrait of Alexander Suvorov. It had been issued to commemorate the Russian soldiers, who defended the independence of Liechtenstein in battle against French troops.

"We are a peaceful country," Egon Gstöhl, chief of the press and information office of the Liechtenstein government, said at the start of our conversation. "Liechtenstein disbanded its 80-strong army way back in 1868, and our last soldier died a natural death in 1939. A wax effigy of his is displayed

Monuments of medieval architecture are carefully preserved.



in the Prince's castle as a sign of our country's commitment to peace. Liechtenstein pursues a policy of permanent neutrality and seeks to maintain good relations with all countries. It is a member of nine specialized U.N. agencies and a signatory to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and various regional agreements under the auspices of the U.N. Liechtenstein stands up in the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe for the further broadening of mutually beneficial economic relations in the continent."

I heard from the people I talked to that trade with socialist countries provides new jobs for Liechtenstein and a fresh impetus to its export-oriented industries. The principality buys from the U.S.S.R. rare-earth metals and sells it measuring instruments and other engineering products.

"Standing on One's Own Feet"

Talking to politicians in Vaduz, you inadvertently find yourself reflecting on the role of small European states. Participating in international organizations and attending conferences in Helsinki, Madrid, Stockholm and Bern, they make a contribution towards better understanding among nations and help tear down the barriers of mistrust and suspicion. Staying out of military and political alliances, such countries are asserting themselves ever more confidently on the international scene. In the 19th century Chancellor Bismarck of Germany and Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria more than once looked avidly at the green dot on the borders of their empires, wishing to "improve" the lot of Liechtenstein vine-growers and crop farmers by adding their fields to the German or Austrian possessions. Luxemburg, too, faced a similar grim prospect. But Russia responded to appeals from the smaller states of Europe and defended and guaranteed their independence.

In August 1984 Prince Franz Joseph II, who had ruled for 46 years, abdicated in favour of his elder son, Hans Adam. Meeting journalists, the new head of state said that the principality should expand contacts with international organizations and join the United Nations. "Europe today offers small nations a better chance of developing international cooperation if they retain their independence," Hans Adam stressed. Liechtenstein would like to continue to diversify its trade. Currently, Switzerland and the EEC countries account for more than 60 per cent of its trade. The head of state said that trade with the East and developing countries should be broadened and that Liechtenstein should climb down

from "Switzerland's lap" and "learn to stand on its own feet."

Appreciating economic prospects, Herbert Kindler, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, noted that difficult times lay ahead because "the industrial boom is over." There are redundancies with little prospect of employment, and the fate of 2,500 workers from Austria and 1,000 from



Girls in festive garb.

Switzerland, who come to the principality to work every day, is not at all clear.

A Stone on the Boundary

"Here passes the border between our Balzers and Liechtenstein as a whole, and Switzerland," mayor Emmanuel Vogt pointed to a grey quadrangular block of granite bearing the coat of arms of the principality. "Neighbours claimed our meadows and springs for a long time. According to legend, the conflict was resolved in a remarkable way. When in days long gone the representatives of the opposing sides came together at the provisional border for the umpteenth time, tired of mutual recriminations, they decided that the border dispute should be resolved peacefully: let a villager from Balzers carry a stone chosen by the Swiss; the border will be where he drops it. The Balzers folk chose a strong lad, a village smith by the name of Georg. He heaved a granite boulder onto his back (needless to say, the Swiss had done their best to find an enormous stone) and set out on his way, his feet wobbling beneath him. Cheer-

ed on by fellow villagers, the smith reached the disputed border and, his strength ebbing away, took a few more steps onto Swiss land before dropping dead.

"It is a legend, of course, but if all contentious issues and border conflicts were settled in this way, the world would avoid many a gory war."

We were standing by a leaning granite obelisk by the roadside, with the date—1736—inscribed on it. All around us, as far as the eye could see, spread pastures and vineyards, just as they had done 250 years ago, and the Gutenberg Castle, built in the 14th century, stood on the crest of a nearby hill.

"Our land changed hands more than once," the mayor said. "As far back as 212, the Romans built a fortress here and 200 years later German tribes invaded the land and put down roots. That was how Balzers continued to grow where military and merchant routes cross. As before, goods are taken through Balzers from south to north and from west to east.

"It is hard to say," Emmanuel Vogt continued, "whether Balzers would have been part of Liechtenstein if the soldiers of Generalissimo Suvorov had not liberated it from the French. The Russians put up their tents in these fields, around the village, after they had crossed the Alps and come down into the valley. Suvorov gathered his generals for a war council in Rösle Hotel. No one in Balzers knew where the hotel was situated, so we decided at a meeting of the city council to study the archives. We also asked old people and eventually found out that the Post Hotel now stands on the site of the Rösle."

Modern Balzers begins with a road to the north, to the capital of the principality. Plants of the Balzers AG rise in the industrial zone of the town. It is a dynamically growing concern which produces measuring instruments and optical devices. Emmanuel Vogt is manager of Balzers Union.

"We started in 1946," he recalled. "The first small plant built on the outskirts of the town produced optical equipment under foreign licences. Thanks to the industry and ingenuity of its engineers and workers, the plant soon became an exporter of large consignments of high-precision measuring instruments. Today Balzers AG incorporates 17 factories and commercial companies in different countries and turns out more than 1,000 types of product. The Soviet Union is one of our customers."

A Paean to . . . Recycled Materials

I heard a good deal in Vaduz about measures taken by the government to protect the environment and about the

rational use of industrial waste. And how are these problems tackled at community level?

"When the industrial boom began, industrial waste proved to be the scourge of rivers and lakes," Emmanuel Vogt recounted. "Fish died by the thousand and were left to rot. Industries demanded more and more water but the Rhine could not meet the demand for four million cubic metres. In 1957 parliament approved river conservation legislation. Purification facilities began to be built and the last of them, constructed in Bendern in 1977, specializes in purifying water for the canning industry. It burns biogas to generate electricity. No plant can be launched in Balzers if it does not incorporate a completely closed water circulation system. Altogether 90 per cent of effluents are put through purification facilities today.

"If I were a poet, I would compose a paean to recycled materials, which are such a great help to Liechtenstein. We have put up garbage containers everywhere and people willingly make use of them.

"Special employees in Vaduz, for instance, make door-to-door rounds collecting toxic materials, including spent batteries. They also collect waste paper from the population. Jointly with Switzerland we have built large garbage incinerators which generate electricity. The investment was recouped long ago.

"Today we are tackling the problem of collecting spent automotive oil and also spent auto batteries and various solvents. No motorist can buy a can of oil if he does not hand in his spent oil.

"One must know how to make savings all around," the mayor said in conclusion. "As much as 40 litres of water a day is lost from a loose water tap. We charge higher rates for exorbitant water and electricity consumption and mail people leaflets urging

them to economize. Today we are looking into the possibility of making fuel cakes from grape stones, the waste of the wine-making industry."

Monopolies' "Mailbox"

Now back to Vaduz. If you leave the tourist oasis in Städtle Street and go down Lettstrasse past the Privat-Bank AG and a mountain spring, you suddenly find yourself in front of a three-storey building of glass and reinforced concrete with the conspicuous sign "Buhler-Haus." The school and the baker's next to it seem to frown at its bright façade. Buhler-Haus is the headquarters of more than a hundred international companies, a sort of managerial tip of the iceberg of the invisible Western business empire, with Liechtenstein lawyer Alfred Buhler as its nominal head.

Liechtenstein is a "tax haven." Companies willing to make their home in the principality only pay a virtually token tax—and 50,000 of them have been taken in by Liechtenstein. But they prefer to keep low profiles. Only Buhler and two or three other lawyers make no secret of their services as fronts for monopolies.

During the 1970s Ian Smith, head of the Rhodesian racists, badly needed aircraft to fight the guerrillas. Smith's Western backers feared that open aid would arouse protest from the international community. According to the newspaper Liechtensteiner Volksblatt, Alfred Buhler came to the help of the racists: he promptly put together bogus companies which shipped fighters from NATO countries to Rhodesia in violation of the embargo.

Buhler also battened on supplies of American planes to the Middle East and African countries, having registered the Port Trading Establishment (PTE) in Liechtenstein. A deal with

Morocco alone, according to the New York Times, brought him a commission of \$450,000, and another, with Saudi Arabia, \$2.5 million. True, some of the money had to be spent bribing officials, but a good deal found its way to the coffers of Buhler-Haus. When the U.S. Internal Revenue Service took an interest in PTE's operations, the "Langley people," with whom Buhler had cooperated over the years, advised the tax inspectors to drop the case.

Using the CIA's umbrella, Buhler helped shady dealers conceal multimillion-dollar incomes by transferring them from the U.S.A. and Canada to other countries, and none of his ventures ever got him into hot water. When he paid a visit to the United States in the early 1980s, police attempted to detain him in a New York hotel. However, he secured a deferment till morning and took a plane for the Bahamas.

Buhler was also involved in the Lockheed bribes scandal. Money for clients of that corporation was transmitted through his companies. Buhler's wheeling and dealing over 35 years is just a fraction of the financial swindles practised by Liechtenstein-based firms. The notorious ITT, which caused a public scandal over inflated "commission fees" to officials who could win it orders in Austria, and the managers of Boeing who used the services of brokers, left their traces in the principality. The Italian financier and super swindler Michele Sindona, his protégé, banker Roberto Calvi, and Licio Gelli, the "grand master" of Masonic lodge P2, used financial hunting grounds in Liechtenstein for their shady deals. Since the 1950s Sindona and Gelli have run a dozen bogus companies in Vaduz to take out of Italy billions of lire in violation of Italian legislation on currency export.

After a series of scandals, the Liechtenstein authorities toughened regulations on the establishment of "associations" like Buhler's office. As many as 5,000 companies, set up mostly for one-off deals, were closed. Yet, as the London Financial Times wrote, not a single major foreign company has left Liechtenstein.

I tried for quite a time to put through a call from a telephone booth near the Vaduz main post office to the director of the Geoffrey Investment Establishment, suspected of unlawful currency operations. The answering service kept repeating monotonously: "The company has gone bankrupt, please contact the liquidator in Vaduz." A familiar ploy: a company is set up, a profit is made from one swindle or another, and the company is liquidated to cover its tracks.

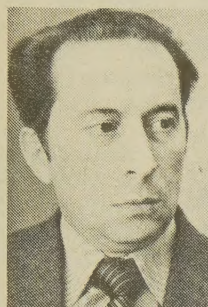
Vaduz

Vaduz, the capital of Liechtenstein, accounts for about one fifth of the principality's population.



I have read that the expression "socialist entrepreneurship" is coming into vogue in the Soviet Union. I do not know its exact meaning but my impression is that you are being compelled to go back to a system based on private initiative and free enterprise, i.e., a system which Marxists have always castigated but without which, it appears, all your attempts to raise production efficiency are doomed to failure.

Ingvar PETERSON
Stockholm, Sweden



Our staff writer
FELIX GORYUNOV
replies:

I should like to observe that Marxists have never "castigated" initiative and enterprise as such. As far back as 1921 Lenin wrote, for instance, that in fighting red tape Communists "will have a great deal to learn from the capitalist." He also wrote of the need for "the development of local initiative and independent action in encouraging exchange between agriculture and industry."

It is indeed true that in connection with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress much is now being said and written in our country about promoting economic methods of management, making industrial plants more independent, and encouraging initiative and socialist entrepreneurship in every sector of the national economy, above all in the work collectives.

Does this mean that we are indeed going back to the capitalist system of economic management? Not at all, because under developed socialism the notion of "entrepreneurship" has an entirely different and a much broader meaning than that which you ascribe to it.

Profit-seeking is—from both the economic and the human point of view—the chief motive force of "free enterprise." The cleverer you are as a money-maker, the sooner you'll build your fortune. It makes no difference to a private businessman whether his "entrepreneurship" is of use to society or not. He can

speculate in stock or real estate without investing capital in the production of material values. And if he succeeds in making big money, he is assured of social status.

This kind of "entrepreneurship" is incompatible with the cardinal principles of our society, collectivism and social justice. As we see it, initiative and enterprise should serve the purpose of raising labour efficiency and increasing output. All the more so as for us higher production efficiency is not an end in itself but a means of building a society whose aim will be, according to Marx, "the development of human energy" and giving scope for each individual's abilities.

Another reason why we need a spirit of enterprise (both individual and collective) is that we are intent on accelerating economic and social development through the extensive introduction of the latest research findings and technical advances. Incidentally, capitalists are not averse to cashing in on their workers' native wit and initiative. In the early seventies Japanese industrialists started forming so-called "quality circles" at their factories. In such "circles" workers were encouraged to suggest innovations to improve manufacturing techniques and product quality. American industrialists have taken the same line: over the past few years they have been setting up "business teams" in charge of whole production sections, and providing material incentives for efficient work. In Sweden and other Western countries factory owners enlist their workers' cooperation in dealing with problems involved in plant organization and management, and even share with them part of the profits derived from work intensification. This does not change the essence of capitalist exploitation—the profit business-owners get from the enterprise of their workers is much bigger than the bonuses they pay them.

Can you imagine the heights of efficiency the Western factory hand would have attained had he not been

TAKING UP A POINT

oppressed by the knowledge that he worked in the employer's and stock-jobber's interests rather than in his own?

Therefore, it is the collective entrepreneurship of labour emancipated by socialism that we are going to rely on for a steady rise in production efficiency. A creative worker eager to do his best is given every opportunity to show initiative not only at his factory, construction site, collective farm or laboratory, in his own town or village. A glance at our papers will show the extent to which the Soviet people take all national problems, both internal and external, to heart, how critical they are of our shortcomings (especially so now that far-reaching reforms are under way in our society), and how ready they are to come forward with suggestions for improvement. This active involvement of the people in building our future is becoming the decisive factor in overcoming mental inertia, and combating bureaucratic methods of managing production and running society. Brought into play, this human factor provides conditions for the full self-expression of the individual and, consequently, brings us nearer to the ideal of genuine personal freedom of which the founders of scientific communism dreamed.

It only remains for me to add that in carrying through our economic reforms we shall in no way discourage people from engaging in entrepreneurial activity aimed at improving their personal standards of welfare. In a number of branches—for example, in agriculture and construction—the contract system of payment is being introduced at group and family level; peasants and town dwellers are free to grow marketable produce on their household and garden plots and to take up domestic crafts. All this may sound like "free enterprise" to you. But please bear one important thing in mind. Under Soviet law, all income—including that produced by private initiative of the kinds I have described—must be earned.

POSTSCRIPT

Ban on Carnations

Lisbon's Social Democratic Centre mayor Abecasis has banned the hot-house cultivation of red carnations. "Nobody can make anyone like a symbol he doesn't like," he frankly asserted. As will be remembered, the red carnation was a symbol of Portugal's 1974 anti-fascist revolution. De gustibus non disputandum, they say. However, town councillors representing the left-wing United People's Alliance noted that it was not a matter of taste that was at issue, but the mayor's political outlook. They recalled that in his time the mayor had also sought to prohibit the erection of a monument dedicated to the April 25 Revolution in the Portuguese capital, and banned anniversary rallies.

Self-Disarmament



Burglars and robbers are "disarming" the U.S. armed forces. According to a Pentagon spokesman, last year \$20 million worth of munitions and explosives—if not more—disappeared from army stores. Yet, the Penta-

gon will never be able to compute how much official property is "lost," an NBC TV commentator notes. Cartridges, mines, grenades, missiles, shells and explosives are amongst the items stolen. It is believed that basically responsible for such "self-disarmament" are servicemen themselves, who find a seller's market amongst gangsters and terrorists.

The Root of the Evil



U.S. corporations netting billion-dollar profits from dealings in South Africa make wry faces when accused of intimate connections with the apartheid regime. In a special statement issued, 76 such firms claimed that they would not suspend operations in South Africa as its racist regime had supposedly "made encouraging steps towards reform." Yet the very day after this statement was issued, a leading white South African civil rights group reported more police brutality. A 17-year-old in Soweto was tortured with electric shocks, while a

13-year-old was flogged until he "confessed" to participating in riots.

Radioactive Record



The Irish Sea holds the none too coveted honour of being the most radioactive sea of all, Der Spiegel reports. It appears that despite Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's assurances to the contrary, the U.K.'s Sellafield nuclear plant has been dumping radioactive waste there. She has now been caught out by a parliamentary commission consisting, incidentally, of Conservative MPs for the most part, which has established the fact.

The Response

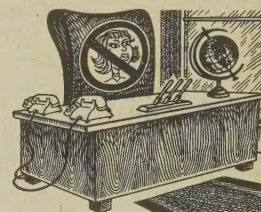
After the Challenger tragedy many NASA experts, seeking to clarify the causes, said that they had promptly notified their superiors of the shuttle's various faults but that their warnings had been ignored. Now, however, NASA chiefs have taken action, demoting Allan McDonald, a specialist in solid-fuel accelerators, who had opposed the launch, as well as NASA expert Robert Beaujolais. According to W. Rogers, heading the commission of

inquiry, the NASA administration has penalized those it should really have promoted.

Hidden Epidemic

The suicide level in the U.K. is rising steadily, amounting to as many as 3,000 a year, according to the latest statistics. The increase has been particularly noticeable among males in the 30-40 age bracket. The Sunday Times, reporting this, cites Southampton University sociology professor Pritchard who says: "There is no doubt at all in my mind that there is a strong connection between the suicide rate and unemployment." The professor called the growing urge to suicide a "hidden epidemic."

Woman, Know Thy Place

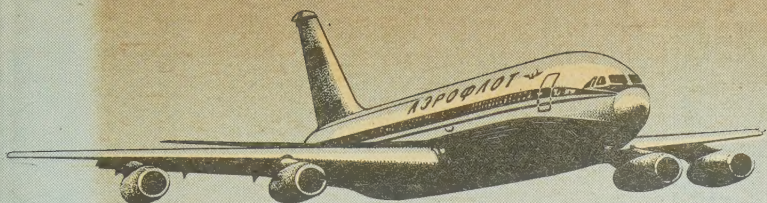


In most Western countries women comprise more than half the teaching staff at elementary and secondary schools. But they are manifestly discriminated against in appointments to headships. In the U.K., the U.S. and Canada women comprise respectively only 16, 10 and 5 per cent of secondary school principals, while Japan, where the number of women school principals can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand, takes the biscuit.

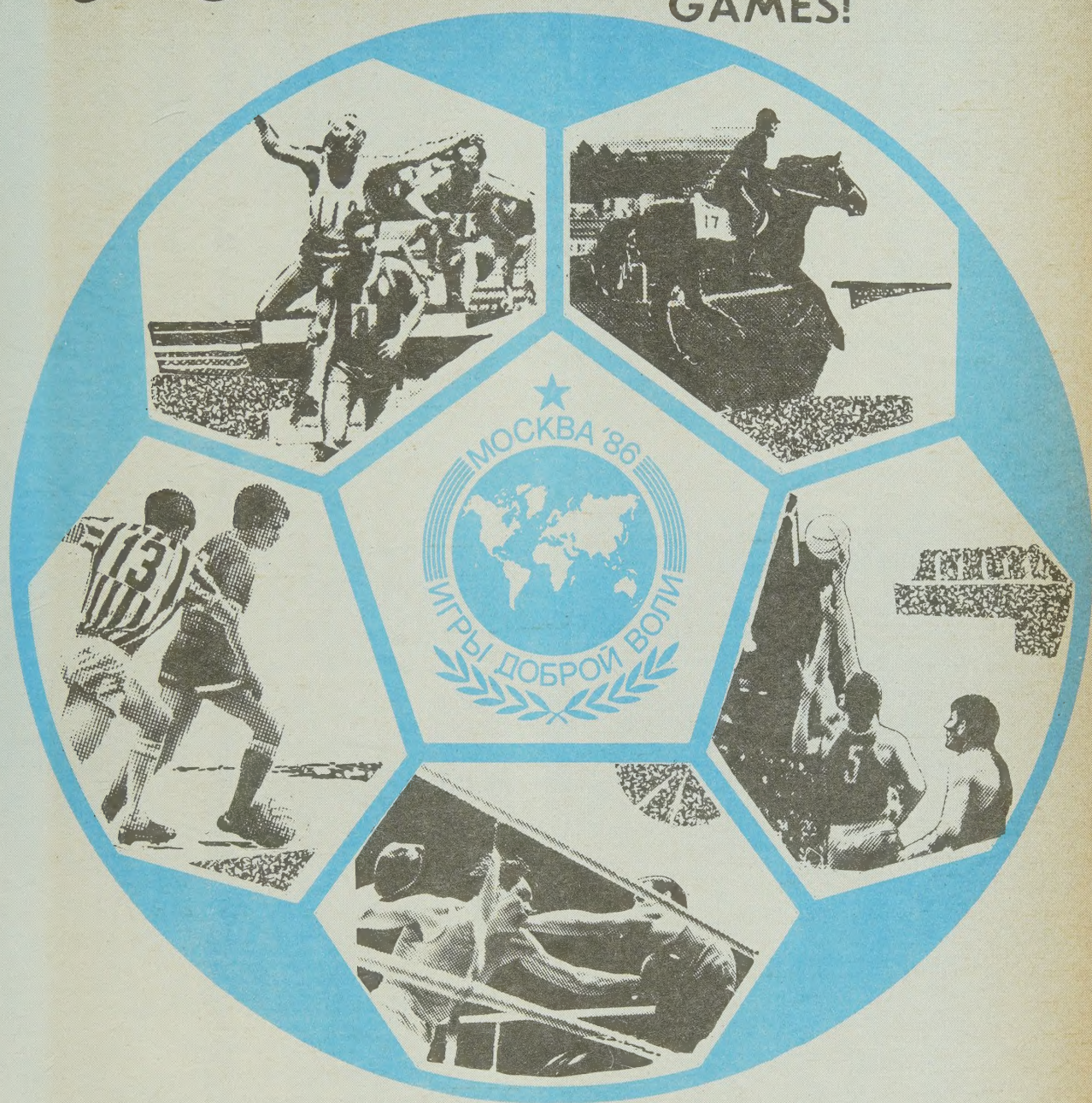
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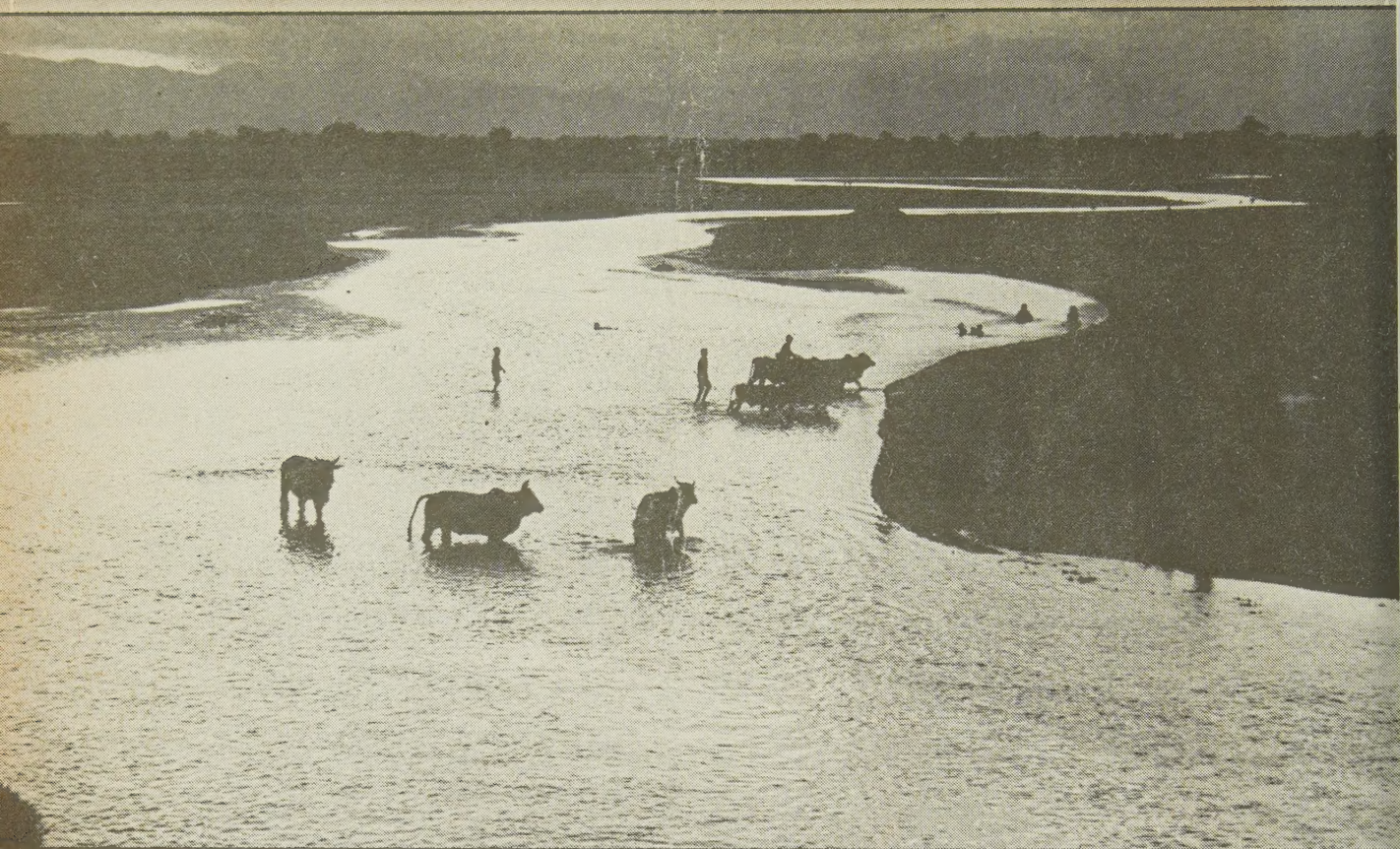


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